# THE CHRIST OF the MEN OF ART

by J. R. Aitken

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# THE CHRIST OF THE MEN OF ART

Infant Christ and S. John at Play.

The Spinola Rubens.

Infant Christ and S. John at Play.

*The Spinola Rubens.*

*Collection of John S. Murray, Esq., Selkirk.*

# THE CHRIST OF THE MEN OF ART

BY

J. R. AITKEN

AUTHOR OF "LOVE IN ITS TENDERNESS"
"MY GARDEN OF THE RED, RED ROSE"
"IN A CITY GARDEN" ETC. ETC.

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TO ONE
WHO HAS CHEERED ME
IN EVERY QUEST
AND HELPED
ME IN EVERY TASK



46525

# PREFACE

TREATING only one aspect of Christian art, this book concentrates on the Christ-Figure, and concerns itself chiefly with the master-works of the great painters. The writer hopes that his book may be of interest to all who love art, and prove an up-to-date introduction to a great subject to ministers, art students, theological students, and all who love to look on the face of the Nazarene. The leading experts and critics have been consulted throughout, and an effort has been made to take advantage of the latest works dealing with every aspect of the subject. In early Christian art and Byzantine art especially, much research is taking place, and round all the great Schools and Masters a vast literature is growing. Reference is made in the text and footnotes to many of the leading works, and a Bibliography is added for the benefit of readers wishing to extend their study. The names given to the painters are those by which they are popularly known.

Thanks are due to many authors and experts for help at every turn, and it is hoped that they, with their publishers, will accept this general acknowledgment. Special thanks are due to Lady Bayliss for permission to reproduce three illustrations from *Rex Regum*, by Sir Wyke Bayliss; to the Rev. H. P. Considine, Edinburgh, for permission to include Scott Lauder's "Crucifixion," now reproduced for the first time; and to Mr. William Hole, R.S.A., for permission to reproduce his new "Temptation in the Wilderness," now for the first time published. Special fees have been paid for the right of reproducing all the other pictures illustrated. The writer is indebted to Mr. James L. Caw, Director of the National Galleries of Scotland, and to Mr. William D. M'Kay, R.S.A., Secretary of the

# PREFACE

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"I KNOW not why the Poet and the Musician should alone render tribute to the Redeemer. I believe that the tribute of the Painter is as legitimate in itself, and perhaps as acceptable to the Master, as are the crotchets and quavers, the iambics and trochaics we call Hymns of the Church."

SIR WYKE BAYLISS.

# FOREWORD

## SYNOPSIS

1. The spell of the Man of Nazareth.
2. His elusiveness.
3. Son of Man or Son of God?
4. Divinely fair to the painters at least.
5. The art ideal in Christ.
6. The challenge of Christ to art.
7. Christ the supreme test of art.
8. And test of the artist's character.
9. "If we could see and hear."

# FOREWORD

THE spell of the Man of Nazareth has lain like a charm on the children of men, and on none more than on the men of art. To get away from Him has been impossible. To come near enough to Him to satisfy artistic judgment and spiritual feeling — heart and mind alike — has been impossible likewise. All the world of art has gone after Him, and the greatest and best of the men of art have been strangely drawn to Him. The pathos, the beauty, and power of His life and death have entered the heart of the noblest among them and called forth tribute of gold. It has mattered little that the task has seemed impossible, and that their finest efforts have proved unsatisfying even to themselves. The spell of the Christ has been upon them, and they have given us, from pencil and brush, some of our deepest thoughts of the Son of Man.

2. Elusive as light and haunting as the music of dreams, artists of all generations have sought Him, and have counted themselves happy if only they touched a fold of His white robe or looked for a moment on His face. Now He has been to them as a vision of the past, a vision that may not be recalled, try as they will, "a sleep and a forgetting"; and yet they cannot quite forget and cannot go to sleep again, but must look for Him, and keep straining heart and brain, if haply they may find Him. And they are looking still. Now He appears to them as a little babe, lying at His mother's breast or sitting on her knee, a "little babe of wonder"; and the beauty of the incarnate child, with the sweet grace of motherhood, they have been able to paint, and chisel, well, and sing of, greatly, to our heart's content. And they are singing, painting, chiselling still, for the world's enrichening. Now He is the carpenter, a toiling Son of Man,

a Prophet, a Good Shepherd, a Lover of the souls of men, a Great Physician, One who is always going about "doing good"; and they draw to Him as One whom they know, One of themselves, a Man in all points like as we are. Yet, whether without sin they do not know, decline sometimes even to think of it, in their heart of hearts believing the best of Him, and, in any case, refusing to place on His seamless robe one black or damning spot.

3. Anon, they look at Him, again, look deeper still, and wonder. Who was He? Son of Man or Son of God? A fair Galilean or the King of kings? And, like the rest of men, the men of art are divided. Some would paint for us a Son of Man so fair, so beautiful, that we must draw to Him, and so divine that we must love Him too. Some would chisel out of marble the face of a God — would if they could; would fain show us in stone the Eternal Image and bid us bend our knees in His presence. Some would take their pens, and dip them in red blood, and sing to us the full-orbed splendour of His life, and the deep woe of His death, weaving for us melodies so divine that we lift our eyes and gaze in rapture on the face of the Son of Heaven, or songs so nobly human, so brotherly and kind, that we gather together our noblest manhood, and go out in quest of the Highest, in company with our Elder Brother.

4. Whether human or divine, however, painter, sculptor, poet, all the men of art would make Him divine, divinely fair in His life, and divinely fair in His death. Even in some of the most painful realism in art, this is the underlying thought of the worker, the tribute throbbing beneath the pain. There is no light painting of the Christ, no merry jesting with the marble, and no songs laughing at His

pain. It is as if all the men of art were crying to us—

> "Jesus Christ of Heaven
> In a poor man's apparell, pursueth us ever,"

and, whether they think Him human or divine, or scarce know which to think, they give us of their best, and paint Him, or chisel Him, or sing of Him, as though He were worthy to be called divine. A fine seriousness, and a noble purity of purpose, as well as a great love, pervades the work of the men of art, whether they put their hands to the task of placing on canvas, or marble, or paper, their vision of the Man of Nazareth or their dreams of the Son of God.

5. It will be seen from this, and will become still more plain from all that follows, that the subject of Christ is to the painter, sculptor, poet, and singer, the supreme test of the greatness of their work. They find in Him the Ideal, and they labour to reach it. Stained and bruised as their life may be, and tainted with many a blemish, they see no taint in Him, and find in Him healing for their wounds. If they but think of the black bewildering sorrow of human life, the tragedy of suffering in its deepest, most painful, form, they turn their eyes to Christ and put all the pain of their heart into His pain-racked face, and into His tortured body. If it be eternal youth that they seek, and the gladness of its deathless hope, they steal away to Jesus, and put into picture or song of Him all the radiant thoughts of youth and all the deathless hopes of life. If it be the dream of a little child that holds them, the infinite mystery of human infancy, and the measureless possibilities that gather round the helpless years of childhood, all the wonder, and greatness, and helplessness of life's tenderest days, they will show us the Child-Christ lying in a manger, sleeping on His mother's knee, or drinking from her virgin breasts, and they will put

into canvas, or marble, or song, all the sweet poetry of the childlike heart, and all the tenderest thoughts of genius on the helpless years. Or, if their quest be love, love labouring, love agonising, love so strong and so tender, that to look on it is heart-breaking, a kindness that is boundless in its compassions, a pity that is matchless in its deeds, they will draw to the side of the Christ again, and show Him lovingly healing the sick, comforting the weary, or taking on Himself the burden of us all, and they will weave all the kindest thoughts of their sleeping and their waking into the picture of Immortal Love. Whatever be the aspect of life on which they are pondering, or the side of His life that is taking them captive, they lift their art to its highest when they touch Christ's seamless dress.

6. The Man of Nazareth smiles a perpetual challenge to the men of art, luring them to attempt some greater work than they have yet accomplished. He calls forth the deepest and the best that is in them, and sends them away in search of beauty, wonder, and mystery, deeper far than they have yet seen. The ideal takes on flesh and blood in the shape of the Nazarene; and, when they go out in quest of it, the mystic Christ is by their side, cheering and inspiring them. To fail, if the quest be pure, is to fail gloriously. To succeed, is to win the world's smile. To paint Him as He is, to catch some aspect of the face never seen before, to have skill and soul to put in marble or song some of the deep things of our human life Christ-ward, some of the things the common herd cannot express, or some of the things that float and soar in the golden light of God before the eyes of the men of art and men of genius, in all time, is to accomplish something that makes the world feel glad and makes Time the worker's debtor.

7. So it comes to pass that Christ is the greatest test alike of the craftsmanship and the character of the men of art. The deep spiritual quality of His life, and the dramatic setting of His death, with the charm and interest of the varied incidents of His crowded days, call for the subtlest handiwork, the finest touch, an almost divine wisdom of vision and skill, if one would come near to the ideal that floats in the golden light and calls for expression. The elusive charm and changing mood of the Christ, and of the crowd that gathers round Him, demand the quickest, deftest, surest stroke, if the worker would catch the glory before it has passed. And the mystic spell that lies like the sweet light of God, like a white angel's wing spread out in the sunshine, like a haunting hope of the human heart, over all the scenes of His life, cries for a combination of soul and skill of the highest and noblest order, if the sure instinct of the worker and the deep longing of the crowd are to have one thrill of joy, one hour of deep delicious gladness.

8. However sure the touch, or wise the hand, one thing still is needed more. Heart counts more than hand, and soul than touch. If there be no sureness of life, and no wisdom of deeds, the hand is curbed and the vision marred. If there be no love, no lifting of the heart and the life, the highest skill will not avail. If the heart be not clean, and the soul be not honest, the white and stainless Christ will not appear. And if the mind be not wise, the wisdom of the hand is sure to fail. Not that the soul of the worker must bow to the shibboleths of the hour, or his mind accept the changing creeds, or his life and character shape themselves in meek compliance with the chains and tyrannies of passing convention, but that the soul must be in sympathy with the Eternal Spirit, and his mind open to the Eternal Light, and

his life and character quick to feel the pressure of the Eternal Love. To run in the ways Christ's white feet trod, gives something more to the touch than all the wisdom of the years. To love Him with a great love, and be carried with a great devotion beyond the friendly nod of the faithless crowd is to find the hand cunning beyond dreams, and the soul able to sing things that else had been "unuttered and unexpressed."

9. Thus working, the men of art have made us all their debtors. They have shown to us not only His hands and His feet, but His face and His heart. The glory of God rests on much of their labour. And the Son of Man looks down on us from many a canvas that calls for our love.

"Glory about thee, without thee; and thou fulfillest thy doom,
Making Him broken gleams, and a stifled splendour and gloom.
Speak to Him thou for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet—
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.
And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see;
But if we could see and hear, this Vision—were it not He?"

# CHAPTER ONE

# THE RECORDS OF THE SON OF MAN

## SYNOPSIS

1. The records in literature and art.
2. The first records in Aramaic.
3. Translated into many languages.
4. The art records need no translation.
5. Yet call for some understanding.
6 And a form in tune with reality.
7. And some knowledge of the function of art.
8. But have we a "portrait" of Christ?
9. The evidence in favour.
10. The fresco in cemetery of S. Domitilla.
11. The "apostolic" portraits and "Veronicas."
12. The annulet of Eutychia.
13. The "evidence" is fairly strong.
14. Yet not complete or conclusive.
15. Art, withal, has not been straitened.
16. "The best is yet to be."

A Legendary Christ.

*Attributed to S. Luke.*

*By permission of Lady Bayliss.*

A Legendary Christ.

Attributed to S. Luke.

By permission of Lady Burliss.

# CHAPTER ONE THE RECORDS OF THE SON OF MAN

WE have many records of the Son of Man—the record of His life in literature and the record of His life in art—and it were folly to miss the glory of the painters' contribution. The impulse to paint Christ, like the impulse to write of Him, came early, inspired equally of love. The earliest Greek texts are of the fourth century, but we have portraits of the Man of Nazareth of an earlier date. We had the Man before we had the words, and the earliest efforts of the men of art to give us the Man have outlived the work of the holy scribes whose hands first wrote for us Gospel, Epistle, Apocalypse. The first portraits are still with us, marred and torn with the fingers of Time, yet still ours. The first Gospels have long since turned to dust or flame.

2. Christ spoke in Aramaic, and gave His message to the world in Oriental setting, in Jewish form of thought and speech. The first literary channel in which His words ran was Aramaic; but the channel soon dried up, and we have no Gospel of Christ to-day written in Aramaic. The first Gospels, or the first record of His words, were, naturally, written in the common speech of the apostles; but, with the passage from their little world to the great world of Greek thought and literature throughout the Roman Empire, the first writings were translated into Greek, and found in that great language a lasting form.

3. An attempt has been made in modern times to re-translate them into Aramaic, a beautiful adventure to give to the world afresh the very words of Jesus. However interesting this may be to the world of letters, and however kind the judgment of Oriental scholars on the joyous

venture, the fact is that in all our extant Greek texts we have not the actual words of Jesus, but a translation, accurate enough, no doubt, and altogether reliable, from Aramaic into Greek. From Greek, in turn, they have to be translated into all our tongues; and the process goes on, and is destined to go on, wherever the heralds of the dawn carry the cross of Christ. At the present time, His words have been translated into nearly six hundred languages and dialects, and every year sees fresh peoples and tribes entering on the great possession of the "words of life."[1]

4. The painters, on the other hand, "wrote" in a language that is world-wide in its kingship, and needs no translation into any tongue. From out the ages of the past they speak as clearly and as surely to us as if they travelled with us still. Kingdoms and empires have gone, tongues have died and new speech come to birth, but the speech of the painters endures, and makes its appeal straight to the heart and mind of humanity. Never a language has been invented like theirs, and never a word written out in colour that has gladdened so much the heart of men. To open the eyes on it is to see, at once, something that speaks to us, strangely and movingly, out of its wondrous power. To gaze on it, and study it, till it gives up its secrets, and speaks with a "still small voice" to us, is to win for ourselves one of life's great possessions. For painting, be it ever remembered, is but another mode of speech, another form of soul-expression, symbolic writing in colour. It is a universal language that needs no translation. It is a mode of speech that appeals to every clime and every age. It is a bit of soul-expression, deep as the heart of

[1] *The Gospel in Many Tongues*, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1912.

the painter can make it, and variable as the life of man. It is a piece of symbolic writing capable of carrying many of the deepest thoughts of life, in a way to all other arts impossible, though calling, like every bit of writing of God or man, for deep thought and true living, if we would see its glowing message and interpret its meaning aright. A little child may read it, and every man enjoy it, though only the wise of heart and deep of soul, by the golden gates of love, and sympathy, and imagination, may enter on the fulness of the joy of the great possession.

5. To say all this, is not to maintain that everyone can read aright the "writing" of the painters, or that the painters themselves have always been successful in "writing" clearly and truly the facts of the life of Christ. There may be many interpretations of one picture even among cultured men. To read at all, whether it be literature or art, requires some education and some gift of soul. To open the eyes on the world is not enough: what we shall see will depend on what is within as much as on what is without. Thus, to interpret the "words" of art, or the "words" of the poet, there must be some kinship of soul, some feeling for reality in form and song, and some sympathy with the artist in his task, as well as some knowledge of the purpose and spirit of the man. The "writing" becomes luminous when our heart is filled with light and our eyes with understanding. Yet it is true that every true picture is a "word" that carries its message even to a little child, and true that every great picture appeals to the heart of the wise in different ways, speaks the same "word," but is not heard or seen by each in the same way.

6. The form in which the "word" appears, or the dress in which it is clothed, matters less than the way in which

it carries to us the underlying truth and speaks to us in tune with eternal reality. The drawing may be bad, the technique faulty, the perspective wrong, the anatomy far from right, and yet the picture succeed in carrying to us some beautiful thought and reveal to us some word of light. The drawing, technique, perspective, and anatomy, on the other hand, may be beyond criticism, and yet the picture have little to say to us. The dress on the figures, too, may be out of keeping with the age in which the Christ walked on earth, and the architecture and scenery be remote from that of the East, and yet the picture come home to us, and appeal to our sense of reality as something that succeeds in telling things that have life, reality, truth, apart from their dress or their setting. The dress, architecture, scenery, and people, on the other hand, may be drawn on the spot, and painted under the Oriental sky, and yet the picture body forth little or nothing of eternal significance, and fail to get anywhere near a true or satisfying expression of the underlying reality.

7. The function of the artist and the business of art is to paint not merely a beautiful picture, or a picture historically, geographically, and æsthetically correct, but to paint us a picture that will truly and beautifully express the idea at the back of it, and tell clearly and deeply its eternal message. By all means let the artist aim at giving pleasing form and colour to his work, but the main thing lies deeper than these. To stir the emotions and wake the sleeping thoughts of life, this is the business of art. To give to the scene he paints an interpretation in tune with the underlying truth, the eternal idea, rather than in keeping with the changing dress and passing modes of its life, this is the high function of the great artist. In the records

of the Son of Man, in literature and art, we find writers and painters alike seeking to do this. They speak to us best when they make something real to us we had else passed by. They paint their noblest pictures when they give us a Christ, or a scene from His life, that appeals to our deepest sense of reality. They come to their greatest influence when they touch some hidden depths of life that leap instinctively to recognise the truth of the "word" they have painted. And they win the gratitude of God and man alike when they clothe the Christ-thoughts in flesh and blood, give them new meaning, and make them speak to us again the words of life eternal.

8. With all these records of the Son of Man, and all this painting of Him, have we, it has been asked, a portrait of Christ, an actual likeness of Jesus? Or have we lost the actual likeness of Christ as we have lost His actual words? All that may be said in favour is stated, with much beauty of thought and word, in *Rex Regum*,[1] a charming work by the late Sir Wyke Bayliss.[2] Dedicated, by command, to the late Queen Victoria, the book is a fine piece of special pleading, as interesting almost as the question itself. With far-gathered evidence—historical, archæological, artistic—and with intense earnestness, the writer would win us to the faith that we have the actual likeness of Christ. He is glad with a catching joy that another mystery has been lifted from the records of Christianity, that the likeness of Christ is still with us, and that men may look with gladness on the face of their Lord. He confesses that the Church has been slow to

[1] *Rex Regum: a Painter's Study of the Likeness of Christ from the Time of the Apostles to the Present Day.* Library edition, 1902.

[2] President of the Royal Society of British Artists.

believe, and has turned from his pleading coldly. He affirms, however, that artists have been more ready to recognise the likeness, and that Lord Leighton, Sir John Millais, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, G. F. Watts, and Holman Hunt, all concurred in his argument.[1]

9. The evidence in favour of an actual portrait, or an authentic likeness, is of a complex nature, and may be left to specialists to handle; but it cannot be too much borne in mind that prejudice or desire, one way or the other, has no right to answer the question. The evidence, too, is complicated by questions of date not yet settled and by expressions of opinion due to insufficient knowledge or hasty judgments based on one side of the facts only. Briefly stated it is this: We have a likeness of Christ which every painter recognises and every artist honours. There are variations of it, of course, and other likenesses as well, but this traditional likeness we have.[2] It is the prevailing type of His face, and may be traced back through the centuries to early times. We did not invent it. The men of the Renaissance did not conceive it. It existed for a thousand years in the mosaics of the basilicas, and has been found, painted in fresco, in the Catacombs of Rome. It existed in the time of Constantine, when the Church divided east and west; and the two likenesses,

[1] *Rex Regum*, p. xii. Lady Eastlake (*History of Our Lord in Art*, p. 31), Dean Farrar (*Life of Christ in Art*, p. 67), Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 347), and others, are all against the likeness, and the only modern writer, so far as I know, who takes the side of Sir Wyke Bayliss is Mrs. Henry Jenner. See her admirable little book, *Christ in Art*, p. 26.

[2] Sir Wyke Bayliss, adapting Dante's glowing vision of the petals and the rose, calls this prevailing type the White Rose of God's Garden, the petals of which are the countless likenesses of the Redeemer found in all ages and all lands.

Greek and Roman, are the same. It was painted over the graves of the martyrs and on the walls of the Catacombs long before Christianity won its freedom, and it was first painted at a time when portraiture was a common practice and the main feature of the painter's art.[1]

10. On the walls of the Catacombs of Rome we have fresco paintings of a very early date: how early is a question not yet settled, but, possibly, long before the time of Constantine. In these underground dwellings, made beautiful by the love of the first followers of Jesus and the faith of Christian martyrs, we have paintings that seem to be portraits of Christ. Many of these are faded beyond recall, but some are still clear beneath the dust of ages, while others have been saved for us, for all time, by loving hands that painted them anew faithfully and well. In particular we have the frescoes in the cemetery of S. Domitilla and in the tomb of her body-servants and fellow-martyrs Achilleus and Nereus.[2] Sir Wyke Bayliss considers the Domitilla portrait the "loveliest of all the remembrances of our blessed Lord," and believes it to be "the work of a Roman artist, a portrait-painter, who had himself seen Christ."[3] The Achilleus fresco, he thinks, "bears the unmistakable marks of portraiture," and places along with a fresco now in the Vatican, in the second century. Whatever be the age of these frescoes, however

[1] *Rex Regum*, xxix–xxxi.

[2] "There can be no doubt," says Lanciani, "that the builders and owners of these crypts were Christians: because the graves within were arranged for the interment of bodies, not for cremation—that is, for sarcophagi and coffins, not for cinerary urns; the pagans of the first century, and of the first half of the second, were never interred." See his *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 336–338. Compare what is written later, pp. 27–29, on these fair frescoes.

[3] *Rex Regum*, pp. 36, 37.

they came to be painted on the walls of these crypts, whoever painted them, it is plain that they give us a likeness of our Lord not only beautiful but in keeping with other "portraits" of Jesus in other lands and later times.[1]

11. Another group of pictures, more or less legendary, are put forward as evidence by Sir Wyke Bayliss. Incredible as the legends may be, the pictures are with us and appeal to us in various ways. The first is the likeness attributed to S. Luke, now in the Vatican: a face with great speaking eyes. The second is attributed to S. Peter, and is enshrined in the basilica of S. Prassede: it is a mere outline drawn with a style on a handkerchief. The third is the work of the famous legend of Edessa: it is attributed also to S. Luke, and is now in the Church of S. Bartolomeo, Genoa: the drawing is as lovely as the legend concerning it, and most men will agree that this is one of the most beautiful of all the portraits of Jesus, no matter what its date or how it came to us—its loveliness increases every time I look at it, and its likeness to the traditional portrait is beyond all cavil.[2]

The fourth of these legendary wonders is the world-famous "Veronica." The story goes that our Lord on the way to Calvary fell beneath the weight of His cross, and that Veronica, her heart filled with pity, took her handkerchief and wiped the blood from His brow. And lo, the

[1] In the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, which "belong unquestionably" (according to Jean Paul Richter and A. Cameron Taylor) "to the art of the second and third centuries," we have the same face as in the Domitilla fresco. A reproduction of this in the three-colour process by Signore Giulio Danesi of Rome, from a water-colour taken with great difficulty, even danger to life, by Signore Carlo Tabanelli, is given in *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, plate 6, p. 64. Compare, also, the celebrated group of Paneas, in *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 350.

[2] See our illustration.

impress of His face was on the cloth! We need not concern ourselves with the legend, or with how it comes to pass that we have two cloths at least.[1] Sir Wyke Bayliss, breaking through the legend, offers a possible explanation of these wonders. The darkness of a Veronica, he thinks, is really the imprint of a face—the dead face on which it was laid; while the likeness seen through the imprint is really a drawing made originally on the cloth before it was laid on the face of the dead. There is no real mystery about them; they are simply face-cloths that have been darkened in the valley of the shadow of death. The same desire that led men to paint Christ's face over their graves in the Catacombs of Rome led them also to paint it or draw it on the face-cloths of their dead, and leave their dear ones sleeping with the Christ-face lying on theirs.[2] Anything more beautiful than this it would be difficult to find in the wonderful story of these early Christian dwellings. The date of these Veronicas, however, is a very open question, though the face on them is strong and pitiful, and the outline suggests some likeness to the traditional portrait of Jesus.[3]

12. In addition to these frescoes and portraits on cloth, part of the evidence in favour of the likeness is found in the sacramental vessels and numerous glass (and other) ornaments discovered in the Catacombs.[4] These show quite clearly that portraits of Christ, recognised as such by

[1] There are many so-called "Veronicas" extant, the most celebrated being the famous cloths in S. Peter's and in S. Sylvester's, Rome. Both of these are reproduced in *Rex Regum*, p. 47.

[2] *Rex Regum*, p. 47.

[3] It is suggested that Michael Angelo found the source of his inspiration for his face of Christ in the S. Sylvester Veronica. This, however, is far from clear. See *Rex Regum*, pp. 198–199.

[4] Compare *Rex Regum*, p. 62.

the early Christians, were painted on sacramental and other vessels, and treasured with joy by the early saints. Such is the portrait on the annulet of Eutychia, one of the brave women who gave their lives for Christ. It is an ornament made to be worn round the neck of a woman, and was taken from her grave only the other day. She loved Christ, and had His portrait painted on the annulet she wore on her breast—just as our women to-day carry on their breasts the likeness of one they love. It is a picture of Christ bringing again the fruit of the Tree of Life—a favourite subject in early Christian art. The likeness is that of the face we all know and love so well. And here it is to-day, speaking to us not only of Eutychia's great love, but bearing witness to the Lord she honoured in life and death. "Eutychia, happiest of women," were the words written in faith on the soft mortar of her bloodstained grave.[1]

13. Other portraits in fresco and glass, as well as other lines of "evidence," archæological, artistic, historical, call for attention on the part of those who would settle the question whether or no we have an authentic likeness of our Lord.[2] Enough, perhaps, has been given here to show

[1] *Rex Regum*, p. 59.

[2] I have not referred to the evidence, for or against, from the side of literature. This is but to darken the issue. The testimony of art is complete in itself, and independent of all questions as to whether we have any authentic descriptions in literature of the human aspect of Jesus, or what the Fathers thought. It may be quite correct to say, with Père Didon, "Of the physiognomy of Jesus, contemporary documents have left us no portrait," and quite wrong to argue from this, with Dean Farrar and others, that contemporary art has left us no portrait. The witness of art is quite independent of the witness of literature, and the evidence of art in favour of an authentic portrait of Jesus must stand or fall by itself. Because the letter of Lentulus is a forgery, and Tertullian thundered against art, that is no reason for alleging the fresco of Domitilla a forgery or the annulet of Eutychia a fraud.

that the case in favour of such a portrait is not so weak as is sometimes supposed, and that there is no inherent improbability of there ever having been a portrait of our Lord. The art of portrait-painting was quite common in the days of His flesh and throughout the early centuries, and Love is loth to let its loved one fade away. The question of Christ's divinity can scarcely have troubled the early Christian converts, or the question whether it was right or wise to paint the face of their Friend. The fear of idolatry did not arise and smite the love of Christian men in the golden dawn of the world's new hope, or the fear of giving to Time a likeness that would lead men to worship a picture of their Lord rather than Christ Himself. It was quite natural for them to desire a portrait of their Lord, and quite in keeping with the deepest and most sacred thoughts of men everywhere to desire to look on the face of One who touched with so kind a hand the deepest and noblest things in the life of the world. Christ stood to the early Christian Church for more than we sometimes think—a great and winning love; a friendship true and strong as death; a fine and gracious sacrifice that had no thought of self or fear of woe; a pity that broke into tears and made the heart tender for ever; a compassion that sent out its hands and its feet wherever there was sorrow or pain; strength sufficient to bear all the wounds of life; and faith that dared to face death's darkest night, and conquered. He was their Friend, and they painted Him in fresco on their walls, or wore Him in miniature against their beating hearts. He was their Saviour, and they painted Him in gold on their Communion cups, that they might look on His face when they drank the blood-red wine. He was their Hope, and they painted Him on linen cloths to lay

on the darkened faces of their dead. And He was their Comfort and Strength, and they painted, in love, the pitiful, compassionate words of Jesus, His strong, triumphant works, and sang of them, in colour, in the darkest hours of persecution.

14. To say all this, however, is not to prove that we have a "portrait" of Christ or that the chain in favour of the traditional "likeness" is complete, but merely to show that the evidence is stronger far than is sometimes admitted, and that there is no inherent improbability of there ever having been a portrait of our Lord. There is point in the taunt: "Men are so slow of heart to believe things concerning Him. They tear the corolla to pieces, not knowing. Their hands are wet with the living sap, and they think it is only from dew that fell an hour ago. They pass through the Catacombs, and observe paintings on the walls by Roman artists, in the Roman style, of a Roman Youth, a Fair Shepherd, an Orpheus, a David; and they say, 'These are imaginary pictures of Christ—these are not likenesses of Christ—we have no likeness of Christ—we have no likeness but that of Cæsar!'"[1]

15. Whether we believe, with Sir Wyke Bayliss, that we have an actual and authentic likeness of Christ; or think, with myself, that this is not so improbable as some allege; or declare, with Dean Farrar, that all these portraits of Jesus are works of the imagination only—it is quite evident that we have more than one type and countless variations in the portraiture of Jesus. From the very earliest times artists felt themselves free to aim at more than a portrait and give us pictures. From comparatively early times, too, the tendency to symbolic painting and to

[1] *Rex Regum*, p. 65.

theological painting made itself manifest, and we have many types and many variations. Thus, whether we have an actual likeness or no, art has not been stifled, and the religious imagination has not been imprisoned. Except during the late period of Byzantine mosaic-work, when art was paralysed by its medium, and still more by the barren controversies of the theologians, artists have not felt themselves condemned to endless repetition, and have not failed to hear the Christ calling to them to give to Him their highest powers of thought and expression.[1] The failures of the past were never due to any embarrassment as to the likeness, but to limitations of technique and spiritual vision. And no artist to-day feels straitened with the traditions of the past, or with the form of the generally accepted likeness handed down to us. Rather he feels it a call to the highest and deepest within him, capable of infinite variation and infinite expression, and a constant challenge to the noblest and loftiest aspirations of his art.

16. The future, it may be safely prophesied, holds fairer pictures far than the world has yet seen. The Christ is not dead and His charm not spent. So sure as He stands for the great deep things of life, will men turn to Him. When the days of uncertainty have passed and the years of our darkness have gone; when the wind of the Spirit bloweth again across the deep places of the soul of man; when we go out hungry and stricken after the spiritual and the eternal again; and when men come to love Christ once more, with a great passionate love, they will be drawn to Him, and long to paint His face, and love to lay their fairest at His feet. Great

[1] See *The Christ-Face in Art*, p. xxi.

artists will, no doubt, create for us new types. Infinite variation and infinite expression will be given to the face we know and love so well. But new love will bring new life, new life new hope, new hope new triumphs, new triumphs new gladness. The men of art will not be straitened by their love of the face, or hindered by the achievements of the past, or be for ever blinded by the glory of the Renaissance. The world may be born again, in such an hour as we think not. New incarnations of life, and love, and hope, and conquering genius are in the womb of To-morrow. The Christ has not yet come to His own. The men of art have not yet exhausted His glory. "The best is yet to be." The world is destined to see yet more of His beauty. The face will continue to haunt the painters till they crowd the years with His glory and add to the gladness of the world.

# CHAPTER TWO

# THE CHRIST OF THE EARLY CENTURIES

## SYNOPSIS

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2. The new records add to His glory.
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Christ of the Catacombs.

*Artist Unknown.*

*By permission of Lady Bayliss.*

Christ of the Catacombs.

Artist Unknown.

By permission of Lady Baylis.

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# CHAPTER TWO THE CHRIST OF THE EARLY CENTURIES

RECENT discovery has made it perfectly plain that the triumph of Christ in the early centuries was greater far than His own historians had made us believe. The world has been filled with a pretty picture of the Man of Nazareth taking the slaves and the toilers by storm, and winning the hearts of the poor and needy. It is true, beautifully true, but only half the truth. The "slaves" and "toilers" of time are not all in lowly orders, and the "poor" and "needy" among men not all in humble dwellings. The Christ of Galilee found His way to the palace as well as to the cottage, to the master as well as to the slave, to great men and women in every walk of life as well as to the offscouring of humanity.

2. Indeed, the new records of the early centuries that are coming to light may lead us to postulate that Christ won His greatest triumphs among the cultured and great of the Roman Empire, and brought the mighty to His feet in the Eternal City, as everywhere her eagle faced the breeze, long before Constantine gave Christianity its freedom. Says Lanciani: "The discoveries lately made on this subject are startling, and constitute a new chapter in the history of Imperial Rome."[1] The writings of pagan annalists and historians abundantly prove this, as well as the writings of the Christian Fathers and the "writings" on stone. "Thus," says Lanciani, "in ecclesiastical documents no mention is made of the conversion of the two Domitillæ, or Flavius Clemens, or Petronilla, all of whom were relatives of the Flavian emperors; and of the Acilii Glabriones, the noblest among the noble, as Herodianus

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 2.

calls them (2, 3). Their fortunes and death are described only by the Roman historians and biographers of the time of Domitian."[1] Many other names, and proofs, are given in his monumental work, in the great chapter on "The Transformation of Rome," and elsewhere.

3. All this is in keeping with Tertullian's famous boast: "We are but of yesterday, yet we fill every place that belongs to you, cities, islands, outposts; we fill your assemblies, camps, tribes, and decuries; the imperial palace, the Senate, the forum; we only leave to you your temples."[2] We have been too modest of our honours to the King.

4. Equally untenable is the old idea that the Catacombs of Rome were the refuge of the early Christians, and that they lived and worshipped only there for fear of the bloody persecutors. "It is abundantly proved," write Richter and Taylor in their great book, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, "that before the great Christian basilicas were built, the periodical assemblages of the Christian communities took place in the private basilicas forming an integral part of the palaces of nobles: for great Roman patricians early formed an important feature of a congregation which by no means consisted exclusively of slaves or of illiterate persons, nor lived permanently in fear of persecution. As early as the reign of Domitian (81–96) it included worshippers who were not merely members of the Imperial household, but near relatives of the Emperor himself; two of them, indeed, sons of his cousins Flavius Clemens, the Consul, and of Domitilla, both Christians, were at one time heirs to the Imperial throne."[3]

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 3. Domitian assassinated, A.D. 96.
[2] *Apology*, chap. xxxvii. Tertullian was born A.D. 160.
[3] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 18.

5. The Roman emperors tolerated the new religion, if they were not always kindly disposed to it, and the wonder is that the fires of persecution broke loose so seldom. Often, when they did break out, it was in the distant provinces, and Rome escaped. Long periods of peace were enjoyed, and many of the emperors would have gone farther than they did in their recognition of Christ but for political reasons or decadence of life. More than toleration was shown, again and again, and far-reaching recognition of the greatness of Jesus. It is said that even Nero was, at one time, inclined to give himself to the new faith, a thing not altogether improbable, as Lanciani says, if we take into consideration the circumstances of Paul's appeal, his absolution, and his relations with Seneca and with the converts of the house of Cæsar. The fact that Alexander Severus would build the Christ a shrine, and give Him at least the honours of the ancient gods, and that Hadrian also meditated such a tribute, is significant of much. Says Lampridius: "There is no doubt that Hadrian ordered temples to be erected in every city to an unknown god; and because they have no statue, we still call them temples of Hadrian. He is said to have prepared them for Christ, but to have been deterred from carrying his plan into execution by the consideration that the temples of the old gods would become deserted, and the whole population turn Christian, *omnes christianos futuros*."[1]

6. The Italians in general, and Romans in particular, are noted for their great tolerance in matters of religion, which sometimes, as Lanciani says, degenerates into apathy and indifference.[2] The national love of freedom and broad

[1] Sev. Alex., c. 43.
[2] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 16.

charitableness prevailed in Imperial Rome, except during occasional outbursts of passion, fomented by official persecutors. When persecution was decreed, it was generally by the best of the Roman emperors, from the pagan point of view, men who held strongly to the old faith and could not comprehend the sanctities of conscience touched by the hand of Christ. They could not understand either the intensity of the new religious faith or the motive that led the early Christians throughout the empire to deny their old-world love of law rather than deny Christ: the way of Christ was new to Rome, a conception of religion that had never dawned on its imperial brain, and it is no wonder that some of the emperors failed to take its true measure.

7. When the fires did break out, however, they seldom touched Rome, and many a long spell passed during which the new religion had free and unfettered course. After the persecution of Marcus Aurelius (161–180), a persecution which, as Richter and Taylor point out, did not extend to the Roman Church, the Christian world enjoyed a long peace of ninety years, broken only by Septimius Severus' short persecution (193–202), which also, to all intents and purposes, left the Roman community untouched.[1] According to Eusebius, the Church of the time of Marcus Aurelius' son and successor, Commodus (180–192), was enlarged by the adhesion of "persons of all conditions, and in Rome by the conversion of *whole families* among the noblest and richest." The reign of Caracalla (211–217) continued the sunshine, and Heliogabalus with Alexander Severus wrought only to beat the gold of Christ into the bronze and silver of the old religions. The fierce anger of Maximinus was short-lived, and again Christ was in the sun. Gordianus

[1] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 19.

(238–244) cast his sheltering wing over the Church, and his successor, Philippus Arabs (244–249), was so indulgent that Eusebius and Jerome allege, wrongly, that he was a Christian.[1]

8. All this goes to prove that the Christians in Rome, rich and poor, had plenty of liberty to honour Christ in the open. Only when the fires were hottest were they forced to take to the dark and shelter of the Catacombs. For the best part of three hundred years they were free to bow the knee to Christ where they pleased. They worshipped Him in humble home and rich dwelling, in painted rooms and noble halls. They ran the errands of the King in the broad light of day.

9. Our thought, too, of early Christian art must be completely changed or largely modified by the discoveries of modern times and the special studies of recent years. "Hardly more tenable," say Richter and Taylor, in their magnificent contribution to our study, "than the exploded belief that the early Christians sought refuge in the gloomy vaults of the Catacombs, where they lived, and where the community furtively assembled at stated intervals for the celebration of religious rites, is the later supposition that the art activity of a great religious body, which reckoned some of the most cultivated and distinguished personages of Rome in its ranks, was summed up in the slightly sketched frescoes of their subterranean cemeteries."[2]

10. They point out with equal force and knowledge that it is improbable that cultivated and wealthy Christians

[1] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 18. See also *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 16 ff. It is clear that the beauty and worth of the early art of the Catacombs, private houses, and basilicas have been much underestimated.

occupied whitewashed houses at a time when the pictorial arts were pressed into the service of daily life to a degree which is almost inconceivable now, when every inch of household wall was decorated with marbles or painted stucco, at a time too of such universal interest in religion, and of such philosophic toleration of every shade of opinion. It is only to be expected, too, that they would not surround themselves with art of a licentious or merely pagan interest, but rather with representations of scenes in tune with their faith, the full significance of which would not be plain always to other than initiates, and the inspiration of which would come from their love of Christ baptized in the art-traditions of the past and the art-tendencies of the hour. It is in keeping with this to learn that the cultured Christian patricians, whose private basilicas were the general meeting-places of the faithful, decorated them with pictures that were not below the general level of the culture and decorative art of the day.[1] That little remains of it, and chiefly in the form of late copies, is not surprising when one remembers how little is left of the very stones and lime of which the "Eternal City" was built.

11. When fear of death laid its ban on early Christian art, the artists took to symbolism or neutral subject-matter or genre pictures. They painted from Jewish history, scenes from the lives of the patriarchs, lawgiver, and leaders of the people; later, perhaps, pictures of a young shepherd carrying a lamb, or a mere bit of symbolism bathed in the darkness of the past, a fish or a bird, a basket of bread or goblet of wine. So long as it was day early art paid its tribute to the great facts of the Christian faith and the winning deeds of Christ, but when it was dark, and it was death to show the

[1] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 20.

Nazarene in any shape or form, they took to symbolic painting, Greek and Roman youths, fish and eagles, trees and flowers, mystic anagrams and bewildering signs—dark painting to hide their faith from the foe. I shall have more to say on all this later, but meantime note that the evidence in favour of a high order of Christian art in the early centuries is clear and strong.

12. In illustration, take the lamps of the Good Shepherd made by the potter of Ostia toward the middle of the second century. Exported from his famous pottery to many provinces of the empire, they tell their beautiful story still. Whether himself a Christian, as some surmise, or merely making the lamps to Christian order, as Lanciani suggests, no matter now. These lamps are generally ornamented with a portrait of a young shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders, though also with types that are decidedly pagan, as Hercules and Diana.[1] Lamps of the Good Shepherd, they lit the feet of His followers in the lofty ways all over the Roman world, and made beautiful the words of Christ to many who loved Him dearly.

13. The same fact is proved by the recent discovery, narrated by Richter and Taylor, of an early Christian house with wall decorations, under the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Cælius. In the second-century decoration of one of its rooms are almost life-size figures of graceful, nude, winged youths, who stand, each with a bird on either side, between boldly swung garlands of flowers. Though its pagan influence is clear, such a scheme of decoration may well have been interpreted in a Christian sense. Whether this be so or not, it is to be noted, with Richter and Taylor, that "as a scheme of domestic mural

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 18.

decoration these paintings have a dignity, we had almost said a solemnity, which seems to lift them out of the category of such ornament as is the outcome of idle fancy. It is, moreover, remarkable that they should be free from subsidiary ornament based on mythology (in frieze or panel), such as generally lent similar decorations the dramatic interest demanded by the taste of the time."[1]

14. In art as in life the "pale Galilean" made headway, and wrought with human hands the creed of creeds in the life of the world of the early centuries, quietly, surely, victoriously, with a triumph greater far than men have thought. He transformed the world by His worth and adorned it with His beauty. But: "We must not believe that the transformation of Rome from a pagan into a Christian city was a sudden and unexpected event which took the world by surprise. It was the natural result of the work of three centuries, brought to maturity under Constantine by an inevitable reaction against the violence of Diocletian's rule. It was not a revolution or a conversion in the true sense of these words; it was the official recognition of a state of things which had long ceased to be a secret. The moral superiority of the new doctrines over the old religions was so evident, so overpowering, that the result of the struggle had been a foregone conclusion since the age of the first apologists. The revolution was an exceedingly mild one, the transformation almost imperceptible. No violence was resorted to, and the tolerance and mutual benevolence so characteristic of the Italian race was adopted as the fundamental policy of State and

[1] *Golden Age of Classical Christian Art*, p. 21. Trees, birds, and flowers are used in the Catacombs and elsewhere as Christian symbols of hope here and joy hereafter.

Church."[1] In art, at any rate, there was no break, and the best work of the decorative artists was early drawn to the service of Christ.

15. Though this be so, comparatively few examples of early Christian portraiture and of early Christian art have come down to us from the first three centuries. Few pagan pictures, also, have survived the wreck of the years. A few examples of classical art, lost and buried long ago, have been unearthed in recent times. Of these, as Dr. Cutts says, the best known examples are the mural paintings in the house of Livia (which was a part of the palace of the Cæsars), the houses of far-famed Pompeii, the baths of Titus, and some of the early sepulchral chambers of Rome. When one considers this, and remembers the ravages of the years, there is little wonder that comparatively few Christian examples remain. We have very few examples of classical portrait-painting, so far as I know, though portrait-painting flourished throughout the Empire.[2] These wall-paintings of the palaces, of Pompeii, and of the death-chambers of Rome are decorative work. They are beautifully coloured, well drawn, and show remarkable invention and taste; but they can be matched with equally beautiful decorative painting in many of the earliest of our Christian catacombs. In the beautiful book by Bottari examples are given, and Dr. Cutts reproduces two lovely decorated ceilings. In the catacombs of Domitilla, Callixtus, and others, examples occur. They all go to show that the early Christians had the beautiful eye, and knew how to honour whatsoever things are lovely.

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 19, 20.

[2] See *The Hawara Portfolio: Paintings of the Roman Age*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1913.

The bare walls of our modern churches, public buildings, and private houses would have seemed to them cold and mean and dreadful. "The Christian congregations," says Dr. Cutts, "were accustomed, in the upper chambers or the atria of well-to-do converts in which they assembled for worship, to arcades of marble columns with gilded capitals, painted walls and ceilings, and tesselated pavements; and in passing through the sepulchral chambers of the same 'princes of the congregation' to the narrower galleries beyond, they were accustomed to see them decorated, like the rooms of a house, in the elegant taste of the time."[1]

16. Most interesting are those connected with the Catacombs of Rome. The Catacombs are underground cemeteries, and were used by the Christians from the first to the fourth century. Together with all others, the tombs of Christians were considered sacred by Roman law. In the first century, Christian tombs, whether above or below ground, were built with perfect impunity. "We have been accustomed to consider the catacombs of Rome as crypts plunged in total darkness, and penetrating the bowels of the earth at unfathomable depths. This is, in a certain measure, the case with those catacombs, or sections of catacombs, which were excavated in times of persecution, but not with those belonging to the first century. The cemetery of those members of Domitian's family who had embraced the gospel—such as Flavius Clemens, Flavia Domitilla, Plautilla, Petronilla, and others—reveals a bold example of publicity."[2] With the fear of persecution and anxiety for the safety of their dead, came an extraordinary

[1] See *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 15, and Dr. Cutts' *History of Early Christian Art*, chap. 10.

[2] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 315.

development of underground cemeteries towards the close of the first and beginning of the second centuries.[1] The practice continued till the time of Constantine; indeed, for nearly a century after "the Galilean" conquered, the Catacombs were honoured as the burial-place of the Christian dead.[2] When they were rediscovered in 1578, after being neglected for many centuries, it was seen how beautiful the faith of the early Christians had made the homes of their dead. The walls of the underground dwellings were covered with frescoes, and the marble sarcophagi chiselled with marvellous bas-reliefs. The subjects of the frescoes, we now know, were so varied as to contain almost the whole cycle of early Christian symbolism.[3] There were the Good Shepherd and the Praying Soul, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and many picture-stories from the Old Testament. The bas-reliefs of the marble coffins represented Christian love-feasts and pastoral scenes.[4] In addition to frescoed walls and sculptured sarcophagi, many other forms of Christian art have come to light, works in metal and crystal, engraved stones, jewels, beautiful medallions, and other curios and interesting objects.

17. In the cemetery of Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus, near Santa Petronilla, discovered by Bosio towards the end of the sixteenth century, and mistaken by him, and others following him, for the cemetery of Callixtus, we have a beautiful example of the early portraiture of Christ. There can be little doubt that this cemetery belongs to the first century of Christ, and there is no reason whatever to believe that the portrait of Jesus which it contains is of a much

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 317.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 322. [3] *Ibid.* p. 328.
[4] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 329; *Roma Sotterranea*, i. 121.

later date.[1] Lanciani takes this for granted, so clear is the evidence, monumental and documentary, in favour of the age of this Christian tomb.[2] He offers no opinion, however, as to the age of the portrait. It is as simple and sincere a piece of portraiture as one could wish to see, a beautiful Christ, and a satisfying portrait of the Son of Man.[3] The more one looks at it the more one is captured with its beauty and haunted with a sense of its quiet grace. The whole conception is one of quietness and strength; a loving hand it must have been to have painted so well. The face is a joy to look on, and wins its way to the heart—to its eternal hallowing. The brow is broad and thoughtful, the mouth firm and courteous, the eyes gentle and pleading. It is the eyes that take me most. They are so kind, so gentle, so pleading, so winning, so searching, that, after one has looked into them awhile, he cannot get away from them, can never forget them, must stoop and wash his longings in the white thoughts of Christ, must kneel and sweeten his hopes in the deep love of God. It is a portrait to carry in the heart, and fair enough to inspire an Ode to the Unknown Painter and a Hymn of Praise to the Good God who kept it so long for our gladdening. It has now, however, almost perished, though kept so long to tell its beautiful story. The damp from the rock and the smoke from many tapers have done their work, and little is left but the beautiful outline of the divine face. Many critics are inclined to put it down to the hand of

[1] It is often put in the third century.

[2] See also Dr. Cutts' *History of Early Christian Art*, the works of De Rossi and others.

[3] It occurs alone, without any other figure or decoration. The face is framed in a circle. The picture does not tell a story, but gives a likeness. See our illustration.

the third century, though Sir Wyke Bayliss thinks it may belong to the first or second.[1]

18. The portraits in the catacomb of Achilleus and Nereus, also, well deserve study. The catacomb is of the first century, though the basilica, erected above it, is almost certainly of the fourth. Whether the portraits were painted on the walls of this old-world catacomb in the first century, when the martyrdom of Domitilla's faithful servants took place, or whether they were painted later, when many of the paintings and decorations of the catacombs were added, in the fourth century, is a matter of much discussion. I see little against an early date, and think, certainly, they must have been painted long before the basilica was built.[2] The portraits are reproduced for us in *Rex Regum*, from the loving hand of the late Mr. Thomas Heaphy. The second of the two portraits demands very careful study. It is a pleasing bit of work, and as clear as it is convincing. The face is kind yet strong, marked by thought and quiet, earnest appeal, as if He were holding you in deep talk and drawing you to give the whole of your mind to the great things of life. With His right hand He is touching the broken things of life, and with His kind eyes He is looking at you, as if waiting for all that is best in you, heart and brain, to acknowledge the truth of His word. A Christ of sweet reasonableness, in sooth, and fine appeal, though the crossing of the right arm in front of the body to touch the broken things beyond gives a certain stiffness to the form and robs the picture of some of its grace.

19. The appeal of Christ to the men of the early

[1] See *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 336–338, and *Rex Regum*, p. 36.

[2] See *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 339–340, and *Rex Regum*, p. 38. De Rossi favours an early date.

centuries may be seen in the subjects chosen for the frescoes of the Catacombs. They knew Him as Friend, Helper, and Comforter, and they painted Him as they knew Him. The artistic minds of the primitive Church were won by His kindly deeds and His human thoughtfulness. They loved Him for His own sake and for His works' sake, and they painted Him in fresco on the walls of their dark chambers, making them beautiful with the presence of their Lord. Thus we have many pictures of Christ turning the water into wine, a favourite subject in the Catacombs, and one, therefore, that must have been strong in its appeal to the heart of the early Church. Apart from its revelation of the kindness and joyousness of the heart of their Lord, I have no doubt it was also a symbol to them, a parable of hope. The wine of life was often low with them, when the red blood flowed freely for their faith, and it was good to remember that one word from Him in the quiet homestead of their own soul could replenish their fading hope and lift the shadows from the joy of life.

20. In like fashion, we have paintings of Christ and the Samaritan woman, a subject that made special appeal to the old dark Roman world because it was radiant with the joy of the new hope. It spoke to them of a Christ who kept a place for all the stained daughters of Time, and a Saviour who was like the sunshine and the rain, and came to all. The little narrow bounds of nationality disappeared, the traditions that made one place holy vanished, and the Christ of all was seen to lift the veil and speak with hope to all the daughters of men. A tender, gracious message, full of joy and hope to that old heathen world. The joy of it we do not quite feel to-day, and the full significance of it, methinks, we have not yet been able to read. A

charter of freedom is written here for the whole life of womanhood, and the early Church was quick to see it. So they painted with gladness, not once, but often, Christ talking to the woman at the well. To read into this and other pictures of the time sacramental notions of another day is to miss the point of the whole story and lay your hand on the tortured heart of another age. The evangel of the story itself is what appealed to the early Christian Church, far as the Roman eagle held the sun. Christ talked tenderly to the women of the old dark heathen world, and won them for the Father.

21. The note of friendship, too, is struck in the fresco-paintings which tell the story of the raising of Lazarus. This subject is found again and again in many of the oldest catacombs. When persecution raged, and homes were broken and hearts made to weep by the bloody hand of Death, no wonder that the heart of the early Church drew to the story of a Christ who was able to raise up the dead. A triumphant faith made them paint the scene, and a torn heart made them turn to Christ to wipe away the sorrow of death. Not that they believed He would give them back their dead, or bring life to the mangled frame lying on the soft mortar of their dark catacomb. But they challenged Death with their unconquerable faith in Christ, and they believed the day would come when Christ would break the gates of brass in sunder. In many of the pictures with this subject a prominent place is given to Martha and Mary: the joy that Christ gave to that broken circle is not missed. It is another tribute to His tenderness and another revelation of His kindness to sorrowing womankind.

22. This fondness for the raising of Lazarus is all the more interesting and remarkable when one bears in mind that a painting of the Resurrection of the Christ Himself

never appears in the ancient catacombs.[1] There are two or three pictures of the raising of Jairus' daughter and the widow of Nain's son, but never a picture of the raising of Christ Himself. And never a picture, in the first three centuries, of the Annunciation, or the Nativity, or the Transfiguration, or the Passion, or the Ascension of Christ.[2] We have two or three Madonnas, the most interesting of which is in the tomb of Priscilla, the mother of Pudens, the friend of Paul—a sweet and winning Mother and Child, whatever its date; and more than a score of pictures of the Adoration by the Wise Men—a most popular subject from the third century onward; and a few pictures of the translation of Elijah—taken by some as a type to teach the Ascension of Christ. The Christian art of the first, second, and third centuries was didactic even more than decorative, and the fact that these subjects, the Annunciation, Nativity, Transfiguration, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus are left severely alone is not without significance. Dr. Cutts marvels at it, and does not know how to account for it. The absence of treatment of any of the subjects of the Passion of Christ bewilders him. "The narrative of the Passion fills a very large place in all the Gospels," he writes, "and their pictorial representation occupies the prominent place which seems natural to us in the ecclesiastical art of a later period; but in the art of these early ages these subjects are 'conspicuous by their absence.'"[3]

[1] *Christ in Art*, p. 45. [2] *Rex Regum*, 77.

[3] *History of Early Christian Art*, p. 225. In the catacomb of S. Prætextatus is a picture of a bearded Christ with a crown of thorns. Mrs. Jenner thinks this belongs to the second century, and regards it as the first representation of the Passion. If so, it is unique. See *Christ in Art*, p. 39.

23. There is little, however, to marvel at. The Church had not yet come to her doctrinal period, and found no joy in the desert place of controversy. The facts of the life of His manhood were of deeper interest than metaphysical speculation as to the way He came. The sweet revelations of the years thronged with His kindly deeds spoke to them more comfortable words than the helpless years of His infancy. The glory of a love that will never die, and a pity that knew no bounds of compassion, came stealing to them, with deathless joy, above the shame of the Way of Sorrows and the woe of the death on the Cross. Whatever the meaning of His death, and however the problems may be solved, for God and man, that gather around it, the fact of His life is plain enough; and its human deeds, its kind and noble triumphs, sang sweet and low to the hungry heart of the early centuries.[1] It had been a pity if it had been otherwise. The world could well spare a thousand of the tortured pictures of the Passion that came to us with later years. Had only half the toil been spent to put into painting, and sculpture, and books some of the joyous, human, loving deeds of the Son of Man that has been taken to put into pictures and writing the tortured Son of God, how much happier had the world been to-day, and how much blood, and feud, and hate our fathers had been saved.

24. Beside all these paintings in the Catacombs to which I have referred, there is a great series of paintings of another type. They occur in almost all the Catacombs,

[1] It may be that Sir Wyke Bayliss is right, also, in suggesting that the favourite pictures of the early Catacombs were taken from S. John's Gospel, and that the omission of the Nativity, Transfiguration, and Ascension is due to the fact that S. John omits these. See *Rex Regum*, p. 77.

and speak with joy to the heart of the modern world, as they must have done to the heart of the Roman world long ago. Their range is limited, and the idea runs in strictly defined circles, though the number of examples found is beyond counting. This is the young Christ of the old Roman world, a conventional type of much charm, classic form, and noble beauty, and suggestive, it may be, of the eternal youth of the Word. How it came about that we have this type, side by side with those already named, is a question of great interest. Two reasons carry us near the mark. The Gentile world, says Lanciani, held in overbearing contempt a religion which they believed to be that of the vile followers of a crucified Jew. It was considered prudent, therefore, at the outset at any rate, "to present the Redeemer to the neophytes, who were not yet entirely free from pagan ideas, in a type which was familiar and pleasing to the Roman eye, rather than with the characteristics of a despised race."[1] This is not very complimentary, but it may have some truth in it all the same. The second reason ventured is the fear of death, rather than the dread of shame. "To the early Christians," says Sir Wyke Bayliss, "it was not always safe to declare their faith openly by bearing upon their persons the portrait of their Master; nor indeed would it have been prudent for the artists they employed to have identified themselves with the new sect by painting or engraving the likeness of the Christ. The natural alternative was symbol. That which they could not venture to paint under the direct likeness they painted in a form familiar to the Romans, artists and people alike. 'Paint me now'—they would say—'Paint me now the leopards and the lions we saw yesterday

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 348.

in the arena—and in the midst of them one playing upon a harp.' And thus Christ subduing the hearts of men is typified in the form of Orpheus attracting the wild beasts with his lyre. Christ, whose word runneth very swiftly, is figured by David with a stone in his sling. Christ, as the Good Shepherd, is represented by a youth carrying a lamb across the stream. These were symbols —safe yet intelligible."[1] This is not very heroic either, but there may be some truth in it also, though the howl of the wild beast is a little bit too loud.

25. I feel, however, that we have not got the whole truth, and that we wait a complete answer to our interesting question. Perhaps Dean Farrar gets into the sunlight when he says it is "no doubt partly due to the fact that the early Christian painters who decorated the Catacombs were hardly able at once to revolutionise the types of art with which they had been familiar for centuries." They threw into pagan forms the new spirit of Christ, and did not know how otherwise to tell one side of the greats tory. They were all the more pleased to do this "since it indicated their conviction that all which was beautiful and true in the ancient legends found its fulfilment in Christ, and was but a symbol of His life and work. . . . The Christians, with large-hearted wisdom, regarded the noblest mythic conceptions as 'parhelia of Christianity,' and 'unconscious prophecies of heathendom,' as they are called by Archbishop Trench. Orpheus and the Sibyls were regarded as prophets of Christ."[2]

26. The most popular and best loved of all these

[1] *Rex Regum*, p. 68.

[2] Says Clement of Alexandria, "Orpheus tamed beasts, Christ tamed men." See Farrar's *Life of Christ in Art*, p. 29.

pictures of Christ was that of the Good Shepherd. It is found times without number, in all the catacombs early and late, and must have been a conception very dear to the heart of the early Christian Church. He is sometimes shown alone, carrying a lamb upon His shoulders; sometimes surrounded by His sheep, by two at least; sometimes by sheep and other emblematic figures; sometimes by sheep and goats; and sometimes it is a kid, and not a lamb, He carries on His shoulders. From the very earliest times we find this beautiful type, as in the catacomb of Priscilla, and it held the heart of the early Church for many generations.[1] There is a tenderness and kindliness about it that grows with the years, and leads to many beautiful suggestive ideas—as, for example, that in the catacomb of S. Callixtus, where the Good Shepherd is shown carrying the lamb, one sheep on His left eating of the green pasture, another on His right looking up to Him lovingly and trustfully; while four figures, two on either hand, representing the seasons, add a beautiful touch: Spring is gathering roses for the Christ, Summer presenting to Him her fruits, while Autumn is putting his sickle into the golden grain, and Winter burning the dead leaves of the years. Spring, summer, autumn, winter, the Good Shepherd cares for His sheep.

27. So fondly and widely do the early Christians dwell on this aspect of the Christ-life that Dean Stanley goes so far as to say that the popular Religion of the first Christians was, in one word, "the Religion of the Good Shepherd." "The kindness, the courage, the love, the beauty, the grace

[1] Bottari gives a beautiful illustration of a ceiling in the Catacombs with exquisite design of vine leaves and luscious grapes, eight lovely children, and the Good Shepherd in the centre of all.

of the Good Shepherd was to them, if we may so say, Prayer Book and Articles, Creed and Canons, all in one. They looked on that Figure, and it conveyed to them all they wanted."[1] It will be remembered that Matthew Arnold, against Tertullian, has a fine sonnet on "The Good Shepherd with the Kid." It gathers up the pity of the Christ and the thought of the early Church so finely that it is well worth quoting, and bearing in mind when one thinks of the Good Shepherd and the art of the Catacombs—

> "*He saves the sheep, the goats he doth not save.*
> So rang Tertullian's sentence, on the side
> Of that unpitying Phrygian sect which cried:
> 'Him can no fount of fresh forgiveness lave,
>
> Who sins, once wash'd by the baptismal wave.'—
> So spake the fierce Tertullian. But she sigh'd,
> The infant Church! Of love she felt the tide
> Stream on her from her Lord's yet recent grave.
>
> And then she smiled; and in the Catacombs,
> With eye suffused but heart inspired true,
> On those walls subterranean, where she hid
>
> Her head 'mid ignominy, death, and tombs,
> She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew—
> And on his shoulders, not a lamb, a kid."[2]

28. Next to the figure of the Good Shepherd the early Christians loved to paint Orpheus playing on his lyre. Often he was put in place of the Good Shepherd, and is seen seated or standing among the sheep, or among the sheep and the goats, or charming the wild beasts with his

[1] *Christian Institutions*, p. 320, 4th ed. Lanciani gives an illustration of a Good Shepherd from the cubiculum of Januarius cut through to make another grave, p. 322.

[2] Matthew Arnold's *Poetical Works*, p. 184 (Macmillan, 1890).

music. Lanciani gives an early representation, taken from one of the oldest catacombs. It was discovered in the tomb of Priscilla in 1888, and shows Orpheus in place of the Good Shepherd seated among the sheep and the goats.[1] Most frequently, however, we find Orpheus frankly chosen for his own sake and for the message that he bore. He represented to Roman thought the joyous conquest of life, the taming of brute forces, life to come, and the winning of all.[2] As a symbol of the Good Shepherd and the Christ that came to quell the brute in man and call forth the divine harmony, what better type could have been chosen? The grace and charm with which the idea is painted show how it commended itself to the early Christian mind, and how well it suited the early Christian artists. Bottari gives a beautiful illustration of a painted ceiling from one of the chambers of the tomb of Callixtus. It is a highly decorative, artistic piece of work, full of grace and charm. In the centre Orpheus is seated on a rock, playing his lyre, with wild beasts, serpent, and birds listening to the spell. In eight smaller panels round the great central theme are pastoral and scriptural scenes, while the angles of the ceiling contain each a dove with outstretched wings bearing a twig of olive. The same treatment seems to be repeated in the catacomb of Domitilla,[3] and the idea is wrought, with joyous love and triumph, into many of the paintings in the darkened chambers of death.

29. The fact that strikes one above everything else in

[1] *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 23; *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 31.

[2] "The legendary musician was connected with ideas of death and life to come, and thus by an almost natural transition came to be regarded as a type of Christ" (O. M. Dalton in *Byzantine Art*, p. 643).

[3] See Dr. Cutts' *Early Christian Art*, p. 211. Domitilla and Callixtus seem confused here again. *Ante*, p. 27.

the art of the Catacombs, and comes home with inspiration of wonder and joy, is the radiant faith that shines in the darkness and the unconquerable joy that was the great possession of the early Christian Church. There was nothing abstruse or mysterious about the faith of the first saints, and their joy could not be taken away from them. It was an intoxicating gladness that defied the worst of death. It was a faith that could smile even when it wrote men's epitaphs. You look for sorrow in the midst of the gloom, and find good cheer. You expect wailing and derision, resentment and despair; but you hear nothing but love, and see nothing but deathless hope. "Everything" in the Catacombs, says Dean Stanley truly, "is cheerful and joyous. . . . There is neither the cross of the fifth and sixth centuries; nor the crucifix or crucifixion of the twelfth or thirteenth; nor the tortures and martyrdoms of the seventeenth; nor the skeletons of the fifteenth; nor the cypresses and death's-heads of the eighteenth. There are instead wreaths of roses, winged genii, children playing."[1] This of the Domitilla tomb. It is true equally of all the earliest Catacombs. "There is no sign of mourning," says Dean Milman, the first of modern church historians to call attention to the importance of the paintings in the Catacombs, "no token of resentment, no expression of vengeance; all breathes softness, benevolence, charity."[2] All the emblems of the early Christians were emblems of gladness. "A joy passing the joy of harvest," writes Dean Farrar, "was a priceless possession of which they alone held the secret; and what seemed passing strange to the ancient world was their divine paradox of gladness in the midst of

[1] Stanley's *Christian Institutions*, chap. xiii. p. 314, 4th ed.
[2] Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, iii. 402.

anguish. They were 'in much affliction with joy of the Holy Ghost.'"[1] The art of the Catacombs is a revelation of the joy of Christianity at the blush of dawn, before chilling controversy and slackening faith had robbed the Church of its vision. And in the earliest of the Catacombs both the joy and the art are at their sweetest and best—a remarkable fact, worth pondering well. For the sign of the deepest, most intoxicating, most wonderful joy the world has seen, we have to go not to the White City of pleasure to-day, or to the radiant Galleries of Europe, but to the priceless treasures of the Catacombs of Rome.

30. Beyond the examples of art noted above, there are many others in the Catacombs, classical and Christian, Hebrew and Hellenic, subjects from the Old and New Testaments, types and symbols of many kinds.[2] We have seen enough to understand their beauty, and to mark the gladness of their tribute to the goodness of Christ. One fact more, however, we are forced to note. The nearer we come to the Son of Man, the fairer we find the art of the Catacombs. The farther we get away from Him, in time and in spirit, the poorer the art of the Catacombs becomes, till the joy of Christ seems to fade away, and decadence in art, as in life, lays its curse upon the painter. So it comes to pass that, after all the glory we have seen, there is something dark to record. The Catacombs show not only the fair beginning, but the beginning of the end of early Christian art. "By the time we reach the fourth century," Dean Stanley writes, "the figures are misshapen, rude, and stiff, partaking of that decadence which marks the Arch of

[1] *Life of Christ in Art*, p. 32.

[2] See the lovely Madonna and Child from the catacomb of S. Priscilla, illustrated in colour in *Roma Sotterranea*, ii. 140.

Constantine, and which is developed into the forms afterwards called Byzantine." That is the sorrow of later years and the shame of a brilliant start. "But," whatever the cause or causes, let us mark with the good, kind Dean, and mark it gladly, "in the second and third centuries, in the catacombs of S. Domitilla, of S. Prætextatus, and S. Priscilla, there is in the sweetness of countenance, the depth of the eyes, the grace and majesty of the forms, an inspiration of a higher source, it may be partly from the contact with the still living art of Greece, it may be from the contact with a purer and higher flame of devotion not yet burnt out in fierce controversy."[1]

[1] Dean Stanley's *Christian Institutions*, p. 316, 4th ed.

CHAPTER THREE

# THE CHRIST OF BYZANTINE ART

## SYNOPSIS

1. Byzantium becomes "New Rome," or Constantinople.
2. Modern expert study of Byzantine art.
3. Oriental and Hellenistic elements.
4. Greek and Oriental art become Christian.
5. The excellences and defects of Christian Byzantine art.
6. A great religious decorative art.
7. Mosaic-work its greatest glory.
8. Divided opinion on S. Maria Maggiore.
9. Typological teaching of its mosaics.
10. Melchizedek and Christ in the nave.
11. The "Jesus" nave-mosaic a *Dies Iræ*.
12. The mosaics of the Childhood in the arch.
13. The coming of the Orient to Christ.
14. Occidental philosophy a guide to Christ.
15. The intellectual greatness of Christ.
16. Early mosaics of S. Costanza, Rome.
17. The Christ of S. Pudenziana, Rome.
18. The colossal Christ of Cosmas and Damian.
19. The Good Shepherd of Ravenna.
20. The Catholic Baptistery, Ravenna.
21. The two Christs of S. Apollinare Nuovo.
22. The decadent mosaics of S. Vitale.
23. Other Ravenna mosaics of Christ.
24. Later mosaics throughout Italy and the East.

# CHAPTER THREE THE CHRIST OF BYZANTINE ART

WHEN Constantine gave to Christianity his imperial smile,[1] the Church issued from the limitations of its first struggle, and took the world for its own. For long there had existed a golden city in the East, and it was in keeping with his bid for world-remembrance that Constantine, in 328, finally decided to make Byzantium the capital of the Roman Empire. This event was one of world-importance, and may be taken as the beginning of a chapter in the world's history that has not been read aright, while its significance for art and life has certainly not received its due. In 330, "New Rome" was solemnly consecrated with Christian ceremony, a new and glorious city which the world has always honoured by the name of its founder.[2] Thence the centre of Roman power moved, and Constantinople became, for the Roman Empire, a bulwark of strength, a sanctuary of art, and a city of immense wealth and peerless beauty. "Constantinople," says Mr. Foord, one of the latest writers on the subject, "was to the Empire what London is to Britain, only more so, for during a large part of its existence it had few foreign rivals, or none; and there was no city in the Byzantine dominions to approach it, far less to equal it"[3] The capital of what we know as the Byzantine Empire, and the source of what we commonly call Byzantine art, Constantinople played a great part in the life of the world for many centuries. It became, in the providence of God, "the rearguard of Western civilisation,"[4] and the saviour of the wreck of Rome. Ruin in the West

[1] A.D. 307. [2] *The Byzantine Empire*, by Edward Foord, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 11. [4] *Ibid.* p. 1.

drove trade to the East, and added to its commercial wealth, while it became also a great fortress, arsenal, and naval station. Long after Alaric had beaten at the gates of Rome,[1] it stood; and long after Roman power had been broken, it continued to be mighty. In 1081, Rome saw the last of its glory,[2] while in 1204, with the sack of Constantinople and the disruption of the Empire, the Roman Empire, to all intents and purposes, came to an end.[3]

2. By the time freedom came to the Church at the hands of Constantine, Roman art had come to its decadence, and the Church was in need of a new instrument wherewith to voice the God-given love of beauty. Sir Edward Poynter dates the extinction of ancient Roman art from the transfer of the capital to "New Rome," and that may be taken as a fairly accurate statement.[4] For many centuries before this, Byzantium had a spirit and life of its own, and Byzantine art had won its way all over the world. The triumphs of Byzantine art have been obscured by the fact that the men of the Renaissance rejected it, and its merits have received less than their due for many centuries.[5] In recent times, however, con-

[1] A.D. 410, August.

[2] The whole of the provinces east of Hellespont were in the hands of the Turks, and the great Norman chief, Robert Guissard, took Corfu, beat Alexius at Durazzo, and devastated Rome, A.D. 1084. See Foord, chap. xvii. p. 331 ff.

[3] *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 379.

[4] A.D. 330. See his *Classic and Italian Painting*, p. 42.

[5] "There seems indeed something of ingratitude in the exclusive zeal of the Renaissance for Roman remains and the literature of pagan Greece, when the Christian East had done so much for mediæval Italy, and the work of Byzantine painters had proved so useful to the reviving art of Tuscany. But in that hour of revival all that bore the tyle and fashion of mediævalism was flung aside as an outworn garment; men were aggrieved at the mere thought of old routine, very

tinental scholars have given much study to the subject, and many valuable books, revealing immense research, have been published abroad. In France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, and Russia many scholars[1] have been at work, and the result is that to-day Byzantine art is better understood and is likely to receive more recognition. In England we are indebted to Professor W. R. Lethaby, Mr. R. W. Schultz, Miss G. L. Bell, and Dr. E. Freshfield for contributions on the subject, especially on Byzantine architecture. Mr. N. H. J. Westlake's *History of Design in Mural Painting* contains an illuminative treatment of that aspect of Byzantine art, while Mr. O. M. Dalton's great book, *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, gives to English readers a magnificent contribution to the whole subject of Byzantine art.[2] Mr. Dalton's work for the British Museum, together with this fine volume, containing his own work and the latest opinions of continental scholars, makes us all his debtors.

3. Byzantine art sprang from the union of the Oriental with the Hellenistic spirit. It had the Oriental love of ornament and colour, and the Greek craving for beauty of figure. As early as 100 B.C. Timomachus of Byzantium

impatient of austerity, and of what they deemed unnatural restraints. What were the pomps of the Byzantine princes to the victories of Julius, or the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus to the new-found dialogues of Plato?" (Dalton in *Byzantine Art*, p. 3). I have no doubt the men of the Renaissance chose the right path, yet it is clear Europe has called too exclusively for the literature and art of Greece and Rome, and put too low a value on the art of the Christian East.

[1] In France, Bayet, Diehl, Millet, and Schlumberger; in Germany, Haseloff, Krumbacher, and Wulff; in Austria, Wickhoff, Riegl, and Strzygowski; in Italy, Muños and Venturi; in Greece, Lambros, Antoniades, and Papadopoulos Keramens; in Russia, Ainaloff, Riedin, Schmidt, Smirnoff, and Kondakoff.

[2] Published 1911, with 457 illustrations. Clarendon Press.

won lasting fame for heroic paintings almost worthy of the golden age,[1] and the Greek and Oriental elements of the art continued to combine in such a way that great and effective art-work became increasingly possible. If they did not fuse and become truly one, and if the Oriental often outran the Greek, yet they compromised to such an extent that Christianity had in Byzantine art a great instrument, an art still rich in Hellenic influence and able to expand at the call of the Christ.

4. It was the good fortune of Hellenism in its decadence to become associated with two great proselytising creeds, Christianity and Buddhism, and to supply to Oriental art just what it needed to make it a handmaid of the Christian Church. The Church required an art capable of rendering the human figure, and Hellenistic art was still sufficiently Greek to render this service, and already sufficiently Orientalised to have lost the old exclusiveness. It was to the Orientalising Greek art of the Gentiles that the Church committed her message, and it finally succeeded, where Greece and Rome had failed, because it was able to render service to a successful missionary Church, while classical art had no such fortune. At the time of the barbarian invasions, this association of late Hellenistic art with a living spiritual force was a momentous fact for the future civilisation of the European continent.[2] The great need of the Europe that came with the wane of Rome and the spread of Christianity among the barbaric nations of the world was an art of Greek derivation, but lending

[1] Poynter, *Classic and Italian Painting*, p. 40.

[2] The decorative art of the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire was Oriental, based on the same principles as the art of Syria and Egypt. See Dalton, p. 12.

itself more to imitation than that of Hellas, and of more austere morality than that of fallen Rome. Eastern Christianity supplied this twofold need, and hastened by several centuries the artistic enlightenment of the West. Without this timely aid in the early mediæval centuries, western Europe might have developed on lines more purely Oriental. Through their maintenance of the Greek tradition, in however debased a form, Byzantine Christian artists could appeal to the religious emotions by representation of the human face and form, and supply the barbaric races with the figure-art they needed. Through the art-ideals and art-teachers of the Byzantine Empire, from the Hellenised cities of the eastern provinces and the half-Syrian city of Ravenna, there came to the Christianised barbaric peoples new art-motives and methods of composition, debased indeed, and without originality, yet still in the line of Greek descent. The spirit of Byzantium is often more Oriental than Greek, but the Hellenic element was never overwhelmed. As the metaphysics of Christian theology remain Greek, for all the embroideries of Eastern fancy, so no opulence of Oriental ornament or colour is able to conceal the Hellenism at the core and centre of Christian art.[1]

5. The merits and defects of Byzantine art should be noted. Leaving out of account its decadence, and speaking generally, it is excellent in technique and jealous for a fine tradition in craftsmanship. It loves seemliness, reverence, and austerity, and is solemn to the point of pain in its maintenance of the forms and ideals handed down to it.[2]

[1] See, on all this, Dalton's masterly introductory chapter in *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, especially pp. 23–27.

[2] Sir Wyke Bayliss regards this as a strong argument for the preservation of the likeness of Christ.

It was grand and opulent in colour, and even in its severest hours contrived so to blend austerity with splendour that, as a decorative system, it holds a unique place in history. But it was too self-centred and conservative to live. It lacked the fire and fury of creative ideas and the passion that sends men on the golden quest. It was too content with copying and recopying, and so fond of its beautiful chambers that it had no eye for Nature and no soul to feel the touch of the Great Mother. It was an indoor art, and scarcely ever knew the joy of the open moor. It learned too early to take its orders from without; was too swift to hear the call of the priest; and too prone to consecrate itself to the service of the theologian and desecrate the ideals of independence and vital art. The tides of the eternal sea were beating at her gates, but she would not let them in. The light of the new life was coming to her with joy and hope, but she had not grace to leave all and follow. She preferred the theologian to the Christ, and had not the spirit of adventure, or the passion of a greater day, or the fire of a holy discontent. Thus, with all her greatness, she could not live, could not continue to do the work of the Father. She was the Pharisee of the arts: the tradition of a great past was hers, and the consciousness that she stood for pure and noble things; but the fires of her Maccabean period burned low, and she had no heart open for the Christ when He came to give her life eternal. She had a comfortable inheritance, and was too rich to do the hard work of the deathless years.

6. Yet, by virtue of the Hellenic and Oriental wealth that came to her, Byzantine art was a great religious and decorative art. With all her defects and lack of aspiration, she is unsurpassed as a great interpreter of mediæval faith.

A Colossal Mosaic Christ.

*Artist Unknown.*

*By permission of Lady Bayliss*

*Page* 63.

A Colossal Mosaic Christ.

Artist Unknown.

By permission of Lady Baylis

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If wanting in freshness and enthusiasm, she was filled with a spirit of devotion and holy zeal for the good she knew. There was nothing mean or trivial in her ideals, and nothing vulgar or foolish in her work. She has no false pathos, false unction, or feeble sentiment, and does not wound with violence or drug the sense with over-sweetness. Her mosaic-work and her architecture are the pride and glory of the world, and her mural painting and ivory-work the joy of a growing company. In the skilled use of colour, and in architectural construction, the artists of the Christian East have a place entirely apart, a great place among the artists of the world. The skill and fine responsive feeling with which they dream and work out their colour schemes are the joy and wonder of many. In the flowing tones of a rich mosaic, and the blending of glowing and beautiful colours, we have art that gladdens the eye and satisfies the love of the sensuous. All over the ancient world, wherever the blue waters of the Mediterranean carried her men of art, or wherever men carried with her spirit passed, Byzantine art served Christ and His Church a thousand years, and did a work that calls for greater recognition and gladder praise.[1]

[1] See, on all this, Dalton's *Byzantine Art*, pp. 28–37. The periods into which Byzantine art may be divided are four. First, from the foundation of Constantinople to the outbreak of iconoclasm (A.D. 330–726). The spirit of Byzantine work is seen long before 330, but it entered on its triumphal course about that date. The first part of this period is often called "The First Golden Age of Byzantine Art." Second, the iconoclastic period (726–842), with its revulsion of feeling against the superstitious reverence for pictures fostered by the conquests of the ikon-hating Arabs, the triumphant Mohammedans. During this era we have the Cross alone, without the Christ, painted in impressive simplicity on the walls of the Christian churches. Third, the Macedonian and Comnenian period, from the accession of Basil I. (A.D. 867) to the sack of Constantinople (1204). Like the first period, the third gives us much

7. It is in mosaic-work that Byzantine art won its greatest triumphs, and it is in early mosaic that most examples bearing on our subject remain. The use of mosaic was quite common in Greece and Rome long before Christ came:[1] Pliny tells us of a mosaic picture of two doves drinking from a vase, executed two hundred years before Christ.[2] But the Oriental love of colour, and the discovery of more adaptable tesseræ in the fifth century, made it a powerful medium in the hands of the Byzantine men of art. The mosaic of Byzantine churches is unsurpassed by any other form of mural decoration practised in the Christian East. The defects in training and perception seen in other forms of Byzantine painting did not prevent great achievement in mosaic-work. Modelling and structure were forgotten often in the breadth of treatment possible and the massing of beautiful colours. But the grandeur of conception, wealth of contrast, and charm of simple faith and right convention openly avowed led often to work that is great in many ways and a joy for ever.[3]

beautiful work, especially the tenth and eleventh centuries, during which we have what is called "The Second Golden Age of Byzantine Art." Fourth, the Restoration in the thirteeth century to the Turkish conquest and fall of the Empire in the fifteenth (1453), the period of the Palæologi, a much misunderstood but really good era of Byzantine art. See Dalton, pp. 4–22.

[1] The use of mosaic was known in Crete in the second millennium B.C., as proved by Dr. Arthur Evans' discovery of a rough stone box in the Lesser Palace of Knossos of tesseræ for mosaic of crystal, amethyst, beryl, lapis lazuli, and solid gold (*Times*, Aug. 27, 1908). See Dalton, p. 325.

[2] *History of Early Christian Art*, p. 284. There are examples of mosaic in the Catacombs of an early date, dating from fourth and fifth centuries. See *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, plate iii. lilustration No. 1, p. 22, and *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, p. 331.

[3] See Dalton, p. 323.

8. Whatever may be our opinion of the date or the character of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, they are worthy of our study. De Rossi, the great Italian expert, regards them as a historical series, and concludes that the mosaics of the nave are of the second half of the fourth century and those of the arch of the first half of the fifth. In the arch he finds characteristics to which the name Byzantine is attached, whereas in the nave reminiscences of classic art are dominant. Ainaloff, the great Russian authority on Byzantine and classic art, ascribes the mosaics of the arch and nave to the fifth century, and finds in them many Byzantine traits. They represent, he thinks, an early phase of Byzantine art which flourished in Rome, and he connects the composition of the individual pictures and the general colour scheme of the decorations of the nave with the mosaics of Ravenna. Jean Paul Richter and A. Cameron Taylor in their recent book,[1] specially devoted to a study of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, come to a different conclusion. They had opportunities of study that neither De Rossi nor Ainaloff had, and were forced by all they saw to change their own opinions and put these mosaics down to the end of the second century. They give us, in their beautifully printed and illustrated book, a number of reproductions in colour from coloured tracings or from water-colour paintings on a photographic basis, secured with great trouble and, sometimes, even danger to life.[2] They regard the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore as unique examples of monumental Christian art, and hold that they are not historical continuous pictorial sequences, such as those of the "Vienna Genesis" or other ancient "Picture Bibles," but didactic. They

[1] 1904. [2] See *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, Preface, vi.

hold that these pictures are not influenced by Byzantine formalism, but are the direct outcome of classic pictorial art, and reflect a characteristic and noble phase of early Christian thought, which hitherto has been thought to have passed away without having received definite art embodiment.[1]

9. The mosaics decorate the arch and two sides of the nave. On the south-west wall of the nave are scenes from the lives of Abraham and Jacob, and on the north-east wall from Moses and Joshua. On the arch are scenes representing the advent and power of the long-looked-for Redeemer. The decorations of the nave are divided into four series, one being given to each of the Old Testament heroes. If Richter and Taylor's conclusions hold good, they are but prototypes of Christ, and the mosaics were meant to teach in typological pictorial form the facts of the life of Jesus. Abraham is conceived as the Father of God's people; Jacob as a Shepherd and Bridegroom; Moses as Redeemer and Leader; and Joshua as the King of kings and Lord of lords. The scenes on the arch, also, are not historical, but are meant, say Richter and Taylor, to give expression to the idea of the manifestation of the Logos in Christ as the fulfilment and test of the world's aspirations, and the goal of prophetic and intellectual aspiration yet a stone of stumbling to Jewish and Roman power alike.

10. Of the pictures in the nave two claim our special attention. On the south-west wall is a mosaic-picture of Abraham, Melchizedek, and Christ. Two-thirds of the whole may be accepted as antique: the bust of Christ, with

[1] For a balanced presentation of the problem involved, see Dalton's *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, pp. 336–340.

its yellow nimbus, has been little touched. Melchizedek is shown advancing from the left towards Abraham, a gilt wicker basket of bread in his hands and an amphora of wine at his feet. Abraham is on horseback, with armed retainers on prancing steeds. The drawing of the figures of men and horses, and the arrangement of the whole, is excellent, though the drawing of the large amphora could be beaten by any schoolboy. The significance of the picture, however, is in the clouds. The sky, which is light and transparent in tone, is swept with heavy blue-purple and crimson clouds, their rich warmth contrasting splendidly with its cold and crystalline purity. There, leaning waist-deep out of the purple and crimson clouds, is a splendid figure of the Christ. A yellow nimbus,[1] and deep brown hair and beard, frame the face. The right hand is stretched palm outwards and downwards, as if the Great Teacher were speaking and seeking to teach us some deep lesson from the scene below. The face is eager and earnest, not, as Richter and Taylor rightly point out, of the radiant Apollo-like type of the Angels of the later series, but tragic and pensive, the head of a thinker and of one who has suffered. He wears a purple pallium and tunica, ensigns of royalty, always associated with the direct representations of Christ the Logos.[2] The picture is plainly didactic. It shows clearly that Melchizedek is regarded as the prototype of Christ. His offering of bread and wine is sacramental in importance, and the attitude of

[1] If Richter and Taylor's date be accepted, this is the first nimbus seen in any picture of Christ.

[2] See Richter and Taylor's admirable description of the mosaic in *The Golden Age*, p. 59. The doctrine of the Logos, of Christ the Word made flesh and the life-giving Word which is in every man, appealed strongly to the second century.

the Christ in the picture seems to show that He associates Himself with the offering. It is clear that the artist, and the men for whom he wrought, had already come to look on Christ with great eyes. The picture is a revelation of the simple sacramental thought of the bread that is given to the hungry and the wine that is strength for the toiling, fighting sons of the Faithful. There is earnestness and reality about it all, and no taint of the full-wrought ritual of later years, or of the ecclesiastical draperies of the mosaics of Ravenna or the pictures of modern Rome. But it is the figure of the Christ Himself, methinks, teaches most. In the early thought of the men of art, as shown in this mosaic, Christ is a Thinker and Teacher of the highest type. He soars in the clouds and speaks to men from the heavens. The Greek philosophies mean much, and the beautiful myths and legends of the past bring of their gold to the school of life, but this Christ with the Greek face has something to teach they scarcely touched, and bread for the fighting sons of men. The problems of life, and their sacramental bearing, He understands, and it is bread that He would offer us, not a stone. A King, a royal Teacher and Leader, fit to be clothed in purple pallium, He appeals with outstretched hand to our sense of goodness and truth, and seeks to lead us to sacramental deeds and holy feeding joys.[1]

11. The other mosaic picture which calls for our attention in the nave of S. Maria Maggiore is on the north-east wall. It is one of a cycle dealing with the life of Joshua, and takes for its subject his sudden onslaught on

[1] If we must regard this picture as of the second century, or beginning of third, it is a striking tribute to the truth of the likeness loved by Sir Wyke Bayliss.

the kings of the Amorites and his splendid victory. There is a classic grace and strength about this picture that mark it out at once, but its great interest lies in its representation of Christ. It is the so-called "Jesus" nave-picture, and the forerunner of Michael Angelo's much debated masterpiece, the "Dies Iræ." The picture, we are told, has the value of a fair and well-preserved copy, in which fragments of the antique original are preserved. In conception and treatment it is evidently connected with a relief that may be seen on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and is a variant of a much-repeated earlier composition. It is a magnificent battle-piece, and shows us Joshua, or "Jesus," bare-headed, on a white war-horse, in the centre of the picture riding toward the spectator. He is armed for the battle, and in his right hand is a lance or spear lifted to slay. He wears the rich dress of a Roman general; his purple paludamentum, of which little more than the wide golden tabula is visible, flutters behind him; while a golden diadem confines his floating hair. His soldiers, similarly armed but wearing helmets, stand around him, slaying and conquering as they come. They carry red and white shields emblazoned with the device of Roman legions. At their feet, and under the hoofs of the prancing war-steed of the Christ, lie the naked, bleeding bodies of the foe. To right and left flee the five kings of the Amorites, seeking refuge in caves. Both interest and design centre in the portrayal of this "Jesus," a radiant Apollo-like Christ, the quintessence of the hero of mythical love, concentrating and gathering up in his warlike figure the martial passions of the years. Richter and Taylor suggest that the significance of the picture is apocalyptic, and regard it as teaching, in the form of a brilliant battle-

piece, the triumph of Christ at His second coming. "The thought underlying this picture," they write, "is that of the *Dies Iræ*, and, in this connection, this representation of the sudden inroad into a sleeping camp of a band of youthful warriors grouped about the radiant, virile, death-dealing 'Jesus,' at whose feet lie his naked and dying enemies, is significant. It is spiritually related to the Day of Wrath of the great Florentine, the affinities of whose stern and terrible soul were rather with such Pagan-Roman images of vengeance and destruction than with the Christian ideals of mercy and forgiveness."[1] This may be so, and seems the most likely interpretation. But the didactic purpose need not be apocalyptic. It may refer to the triumphant, conquering faith of the early Church, a faith that could not accept defeat however bloody the persecution, and could see a day coming when Christ, like a great Apollo, would come riding on a white steed, and put to flight the kings of the earth and bring to blood the opposing forces of men. In any case, however, it is a dramatic conception of Christ, a conquering Christ, a Christ who will ride through blood to victory, and is destined to win all along the line. Yet there is no anger in His face, no hate, no cruel fury, only radiant confidence and quiet strength.

12. The mosaics of the arch in this ancient basilica are concerned with the childhood of Jesus, and begin with a picture of the Annunciation. They include pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Visit of the Magi to Herod. They are not in historical sequence and have little to do with historical realism. On the left-hand side of the triumphal arch we have a representation of the

[1] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 248.

Mystery of the Virgin Birth; the Coming of the Orient to Christ; the Martyrdom of the Innocents; and of the City of Jerusalem. On the right-hand side, the Repudiation of Christ by the Jews and Simeon's Prophecy; Occidental Philosophy a Guide to Christ; Herod, Priests, and Magi; Bethlehem. The pictures of the arch and nave evidently stand or fall together, and it is clear that those of the arch, like those of the nave, are not historical. They are intended as a synthetic treatment of the incarnation of the Word, and of the appeal of the Christ to the wisdom of the world. Apart from their mystical exposition of the idea of the Logos, and His rejection by the Jews and by Herod, they are a deep philosophic exposition of the problem at the root of all religious life, the problem of man's relation to the Divine. They postulate not only intimacy with the Biblical narrative, and with the doctrinal and mystical teaching of the Church, but a high level of philosophic culture. Their solution of the problem stated is the solution of Justin Martyr, and a host of Christian thinkers and philosophers, the Incarnation of the Logos. The idea of the Logos was common to classic thought, and one that lent itself to Christian application and teaching. Justin Martyr quickly seized on it as something common to pagan and Christian thought, and a basis of common life and hope. Christ, the Logos, the Word made flesh, the Incarnate Wisdom, and the Word that dwells in all, that gives wisdom to men, which indwelling Socrates, Plato, and all the thinkers of time, made them wise to speak true words, this is the philosophic conception of Christ dear to the second century, and expounded on the mosaics of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore.

13. If this be right, it follows that the important

pictures on each side of the arch are (on the left) the Coming of the Orient to Christ, and (on the right) Occidental Philosophy a Guide to Christ. The former picture is a rhythmical presentation of the Child-Christ seated on a throne, behind which stand four angels, arranged in groups of two on either side of a large and brilliant star. To the right of this throne is the figure of a seated woman, wrapped in the folds of a dusky palla, her head inclined towards her raised right hand, an unfurled scroll in her left—a beautiful figure in every way; and the very personification of brooding thought.[1] Behind her are two Persians, the Magi, who advance, gifts in hand, to Christ. The Christ-Child is shown, some three or four years old, seated on a large jewelled throne, clothed in a white pallium with purple clavi, with sandalled feet, and right hand raised across His breast as if in speech. This representation of the Christ-Child differs radically from any other Christian rendering of the Adoration, and is unique in showing Him seated on a throne, instead of sitting on His mother's knee. He is alone, and He, alone, calls for recognition.[2] This is no domestic episode, with Christ the centre of a family group, or a realistic presentation of the Adoration of the Wise, but a picture of the thought of the Incarnate Child as the fulfilment of the prophecy and yearning of the East.

14. The picture on the right side of the arch, representing Occidental Philosophy as a Guide to Christ, is a commentary on the same thought on other lines. It consists of two groups advancing processionally from right and

[1] See Richter and Taylor, p. 329, and their beautiful illustration in colour facing p. 336. Her face is young and lighted by a dawning joy. A sibyl or prophetess of the coming day.

[2] The figure of His mother on His right is of quite recent date, and is, almost certainly, an interpolation.

left to meet each other. In the centre is the Christ-Child, on foot, accompanied by angels, and followed at significant distance by Mary and Joseph. The left-hand group consists of a prince and courtiers headed by a philosopher, leading them to Christ. Behind them is a city, probably Alexandria. The dress of the prince is royal—a short gold-embroidered tunic with long tight sleeves, golden tabula, and head encircled with a golden diadem. The principal figure of the right-hand group is the Child-Christ, a boy of six or seven years of age to my eye, standing in the centre of the picture, in the forefront of His friends. His head is encircled by a diadem, surmounted by a gold equilateral cross, and is silhouetted against a pale blue nimbus. He wears a long tunic and pallium, the traditional dress of a philosopher,[1] and His hand is raised in gesture telling of solemn speech. The figure of the Child has been much injured, but seems to have been reconstructed on the antique basis. The cross is regarded as an interpolation, and this may be true also of the halo round His head. Experts like Kondakoff and De Rossi, followed by others, regard a passage in the last chapter of the first part of the so-called Evangelium Pseudo-Matthæi as the theme of the picture, but Richter and Taylor advance certain considerations to show that this is not so, and regard the picture as a synthetic representation of a Christ who wins the tribute of philosophers, courtiers, and kings, an Incarnation of Wisdom, a Teacher to whom shall come all the great and wise of the ages, to find in Christ the solution of the problems of life

[1] The tendency to dress Christ as a philosopher came early, as did also the tendency to make Him appeal to the philosophic thought of the ages. A fresco of Christ in a philosopher's pallium, a full-grown Christ, may be seen in the catacomb of S. Callixtus.

and thought. A deep and subtle suggestion, and as beautiful as subtle, is given in the representation of Christ as a tender boy, clad in the philosopher's pallium, a diadem on His head. The eternal youth of Wisdom, the thought that Christ in His childhood is able to speak to the wisdom of the world, and the idea of His kingly place and power in the intellectual life of men, are all suggested to us in this remarkable picture.

15. "Not born of the slave," say Richter and Taylor, "or of the illiterate, is the conception of Christ which inspired these pictures in which He is imaged as the goal of the wisdom of Babylon and Athens, but of the aristocracy of an Imperial race, familiar with the reality of wide-spreading dominion, on whose imagination had arisen the idea of a universal spiritual kingdom, foreshadowed by types, and foretold by prophets."[1] The early Christian thinkers were full of the intellectual supremacy of Christ and carried with the thought of the intellectual indebtedness of the ancients to the wisdom of the Indwelling Christ and the wisdom of Hebrew lore. "Whence, O Plato," cries Clement of Alexandria, "is that hint of truth thou givest? whence this rich copiousness of diction? . . . I know thy teachers, even if thou wouldst conceal them . . . thou art indebted to the Hebrew for laws which are consistent with truth, and for your sentiments respecting God."[2] "Christ," says Justin Martyr, "was partially known even to Socrates, for He was and is the Word which is in every man."[3] The thought

[1] *Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 353.

[2] See his *Stromateis*, i. 22.

[3] See his *Apology*, ii. chap. 10. "The teaching of Christ," says Justin again, "is not precisely similar to that of Plato, nor to that of others, whether stoics, or poets, or historians, although these spoke well according to the proportion and power of the Word dwelling in them . . . for all

was quite familiar to the early Fathers, and was one in which the early Christian Church delighted. The mission of Christ was great, and His wisdom to be seen in all the wisdom of the past. The future, too, would find its inspiration in Him. The joy of the thought filled the artists of the Church as well as the writers. Hence these remarkable pictures in this basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. Truly the artist who gave pictorial form to this great conception of the mission of Christ and its place in universal history deserves to be called the Christian brother of the artist Metrodorus, of whom Pliny says that he was equally great as a philosopher and as a painter.[1]

16. Among the early mosaics in Rome, those in the Church of S. Costanza are of great interest. The church was built in the early part of the fourth century,[2] and the elaborate decoration of the dome was a wonder of mosaic-work. Of special interest to us are the much disputed figures in two opposite lateral niches of the rotunda. The one on the left represents Christ standing between SS. Peter and Paul and giving to Peter the Book of the Gospels—a very popular representation in Christian art. The mosaic on the left has been much damaged, and is variously interpreted. It shows a figure, Christ or the Father, seated on the globe, and offering a gift we cannot plainly see to a figure approaching with veiled hands. In the mosaic of S. Vitale there is a similar representation of the Christ seated on a sphere, and Ainaloff is probably right in regarding

perceived . . . (even though imperfectly) through the indwelling Logos" (*Apology*, ii. chap. 13). Again : "Next to God, we love and worship the Logos . . . since He became a man for our sakes, in order to bring us healing" (*ibid.* chap. 13).

[1] See, on all this, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, p. 400.

[2] Between A.D. 326 and 330.

this also as a picture of our Lord. In both cases the Christ is bearded and of the Nazarene type, a type much beloved by the early Church.[1] The veiled hands tell their mystic story in beautiful form, and make us feel that already the consciousness has dawned that it is with veiled hands men take the gifts of Christ and try His works to do. These two mosaics are, in all probability, like the church, of the fourth century.

17. A very little later, and of immense interest to us, are the famous mosaics in the apse of the Church of S. Pudenziana, in Rome. They are probably of the fourth century, though some would put them even earlier. The mosaic is a beautiful conception of the Christ seated on a lovely decorated throne. The kingliness of Christ, and His right to sit upon the throne, is one that took grip of the mind of the fourth century. The idea is expressed, in terms of world-dominion, in the Christ of S. Costanza, seated on a globe, and it was dear to the heart of the great artist who gave us the Child-Christ, seated on a throne in S. Maria Maggiore, as early as the second century. Of all these conceptions, however, the most beautifully wrought is that of the Christ of S. Pudenziana. The figure is large and commanding, the pose easy and natural, the treatment sublime. In His left hand is the open Gospel. His right hand is raised and stretched out in graceful speaking fashion, calling men to listen, making us feel that the words of His lips are sweet. The head is held up with simple, pleasing grace, and the eyes are kind—kind and gentle as the words He speaks. Round His head is a fair light nimbus. I do not know a more beautiful conception of Christ in early Christian art, or one that is more pleasing or satisfying. Behind and above the figure of

[1] *Byzantine Art*, p. 334.

the Christ enthroned is a great jewelled cross, and on either side of it, strange winged symbolic figures. Behind Him, too, and beneath the cross on the hill, are a number of houses filling the whole length of the apse. Ainaloff takes these for the buildings surrounding the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Others regard them as a representation of the Heavenly City,[1] and others, again, as buildings in Rome.[2] Together with the great cross and the winged figures they form a magnificent background. In front of the throned Christ, to right and left, in half-circle, are the twelve Apostles, each figure natural and pleasing, and worthy of careful study. The grouping is excellent, and the pose of each Apostle worthy of the great artist who must have loved his work. Two beautiful female figures are introduced, and are shown crowning with laurel wreaths SS. Peter and Paul—one on each side of the throned Christ. They are, probably, Praxed and Pudenziana, the daughters of Pudens.[3]

18. The mosaics of the apse of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in the Forum, were executed early in the sixth century (A.D. 526–530), and contain also a very beautiful Christ figure, one of the noblest conceptions of Christ that remains to us from the wreck of the early centuries. This beautiful mosaic Christ is a colossal figure measuring twelve feet in height.[4] The picture represents SS. Peter and Paul presenting two titular saints to the Christ, and, altogether considered, must be reckoned one of the finest pictures in mosaic of the best period of Byzantine art.

[1] De Rossi. [2] Crostarosa.

[3] Thought by many to be the Pudens who harboured S. Peter, and is mentioned by S. Paul. Martial refers to one of the same name in his wedding hymn for our British princess Claudia. See Mrs. Jenner's *Christ in Art*, p. 54. [4] See our illustration.

The influence of antique tradition is strong, though the style is remarkable in itself, and of particular interest as revealing the quality of Byzantine work done in Rome so soon after the sack of the city.[1] There are numerous figures and symbols beside those mentioned above, but the figure of the Christ dominates the whole, both in conception and execution. In the midst of flaming clouds of glory, brilliant sunset hues, and deep blue sky, the colossal figure of the Christ stands, a scroll in His left hand, His right uplifted and stretched out high as His shoulder. The eyes are gazing earnestly toward you, the brows lowered in deep, thoughtful appeal, while the mouth suggests words of bewildered pity and passionate, loving entreaty. The head is surrounded with a glowing nimbus, and His long hair, parted in the middle, falls in waves on neck and shoulders. The face is bearded. "Few compositions," says Mrs. Jenner, "of any age approach the majesty and the divine benignity of this majestic Christ, severe with the inexorableness of justice, and compassionate as only infinite wisdom can be."[2]

19. In Ravenna, a quiet provincial town on the Adriatic, more mosaic paintings may be seen than in any other place in Italy. From the middle of the fifth to the end of the sixth century, Ravenna was the queen of mosaic workers in Italy, in all the world indeed, and her work is still finely preserved. Much of it is of the most elaborate and beautiful order, highly decorative, nobly conceived and finished, and with Christ studies of the greatest importance. The mosaics in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, erected about A.D. 440, call for particular notice, and are a fine example of the excellent work of Ravenna. Of special

[1] *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, p. 342. [2] *Christ in Art*, p. 61.

interest to us is the famous Good Shepherd in the lunette over the entrance door. The figure is not pleasing, and the drawing far from good, but the conception is of peculiar interest.[1] The Shepherd is seated on a rock, surrounded by sheep, three on either side. Behind Him is rocky, hilly ground, with numerous dark shrubs scattered over the landscape. At His feet the grass is growing; the pasture is "green" and feeding to the flock. Two, one on either hand, are "lying down" in the green land to which their Good Shepherd has brought them. All, standing or lying, are turning their faces to Him. His right hand passed across His body is touching a sheep, that, with perfect trust, is kissing the kind hand that strokes it. In His left hand is a huge golden cross, in lieu of the Shepherd's crook. His head is surrounded with a golden nimbus. The fine oval youthful face, unbearded, set in a mass of rich brown hair that falls in locks on neck and shoulders, has suggested to many a comparison with Apollo. There are other representations of Christ as Apollo, and parallels to this Apollo-Shepherd-Christ of Ravenna are found on sarcophagi of the fourth century. The picture has been considered "the finest example of early Christian mosaic in existence," and, in the opinion of Dalton, "certainly the ideal treatment, the clever management of lights and shadows, and the opulence of colour combine to place it in the very first rank."[2] Mark, He is no longer the simple Shepherd of our earliest Christian art, but a Shepherd-King clad in gold and blue and royal purple.

[1] The Good Shepherd type of Christ, a very beautiful and very pleasing type generally, dies out in the seventh century, being forbidden by the Council Brittanicum of A.D. 692 (Dalton, p. 670, note 10).

[2] See *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, p. 348.

20. The Catholic Baptistery in Ravenna, built in the first decade of the fifth century and decorated a few years later, contains another Christ belonging to the fifth century, or, at the latest, the sixth. The octagonal building, surmounted by a lovely dome, has many features of special interest. The Christ to which we refer is in a large medallion at the top of the beautiful dome. The scene depicted is that of the baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan. Seen against a background of gold, their heads encircled with a nimbus of blue with reddish borders, a long jewelled cross in the hand of the Baptist, the figures of Christ and His forerunner are striking indeed. In the broad zone below, apostles are bearing crowns to lay at Christ's feet. The surrounding decorative scheme is one of great interest, and seems designed to glorify the Christian Church rather than the Christ Himself. It is in this respect the earliest of a long series of pictures having this end in view, the glorification of the Church. In an arch in the uppermost zone of this magnificent dome is a pleasing figure of a youthful Christ without nimbus, carrying a book, treading on a lion and serpent.

21. The Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, is famous for a great series of sixth-century mosaics representing the Life and Passion of Jesus. On the left, as you enter, is the series depicting His life, while those on the right describe the Passion. There are twenty-six Scriptural scenes devoted to the subject, and the background of each is of gold. We have pictures of the Healing of the Paralytic, the Division of the Sheep and the Goats, the Widow's Mite, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Raising of Lazarus, Christ and the Woman of Samaria, the Opening of the Eyes of the Blind, the Call of Peter and Andrew, the

Feeding of the Five Thousand, and other scenes from the Life. The scenes from the Passion, thirteen also, are the Last Supper, Christ in Gethsemane, the Kiss of Judas, Christ a Prisoner, Christ before the Sanhedrin, Christ telling Peter of his coming Denial, Peter's Denial, the Repentance of Judas, Christ before Pilate, the Road to Golgotha, the Maries at the Tomb, the Way to Emmaus, the Risen Christ among His Disciples. In the series on the left the treatment of the various scenes from the Life is extremely simple. The Christ is beardless in all the pictures of this series, wears a purple dalmatic,[1] and wears a cruciferous nimbus. In the series on the Passion the Christ is bearded, and the hair of His head and beard is blond. The nimbus with the cross, in both series, is round the head of Christ alone, and here makes an early appearance in Christian art. The heads of attendant angels and apostles have also the nimbus, well defined but not cruciform. These mosaics are the earliest surviving representations of Gospel scenes in any church, though there is abundant evidence that many churches were decorated in this fashion as early as the fourth century,[2] and many Gospel stories were told in fresco, long before, on the walls of the Christian catacombs. The beardless Christ of the Life series in this great church is, to me, very pleasing. The bearded Christ of the Passion series is not nearly so fine, and the figures throughout have a certain stiffness and conventionalism of form that tell their story effectively enough, but tell, also, that the blight is at hand. The conception of Christ as indicated by the choice of subjects in the Life series, and

[1] A Dalmatian robe, a royal and ecclesiastical vestment, with a slit on each side of the skirt, wide sleeves, and marked by two stripes, worn by kings and bishops.

[2] See Dalton, p. 353, footnote 1.

the simple treatment of the themes, shows that, in spite of all the controversies of the years, Arian and Athanasian, it is still the Christ of pity and compassion that is dear to the heart of the Christian Church, the Christ who lays His hand on the sick, marks with joy the greatness of the widow's mite, calls His friend from the grave, gives to the woman of the well the thirst of living waters, opens the eyes of the blind, calls brave men to leave their nets and take their stand by Him, and feeds with love the multitudes of the wilderness. Even the treatment of the difficult subject of the Separation of the Sheep and the Goats, so dear to the hardening heart of succeeding ages and over which our generation prefers to cast a veil, is simple in the extreme, and not without its notes of pity and compassion. One has but to look at the kindly face of the beardless Christ and the pleading grace of the outstretched hand to feel that no unreasonable thought is His, and know that the Judge of all the earth will do right. It is significant, too, that in the series of Passion pictures there is no mosaic of the Crucifixion, no dark, fearful brooding on the suffering of the Christ, and no dark joy in the horrors of His death. Here, again, there is a noble restraint in the mosaics of Ravenna that saved her from the perils of a later day. It is the kindly thoughts of the Christ Himself that hold the heart of the church of Ravenna, the Christ who breaks the bread of life for His disciples, gently warns His impulsive friend of the dangers of denial, draws to the side of the bewildered men on the way to Emmaus, and reveals Himself to His stricken followers as the Lord of Life and Breaker of the grip of Death. There is dignity and kingliness, as well as kindness, in the Christ of Ravenna, and He faces the Sanhedrin and stands before Pilate as One whose

soul is high above their petty feuds and vacillating purposes. Even Judas, poor Judas, is not forgotten by the pity of Ravenna. It shows him giving the black betrayal kiss, but shows him, also, in all the throes of his bitter repentance. He is man enough to die for Christ at the last.

22. In the apse of the Church of S. Vitale, Ravenna, there is a picture of a youthful Christ seated on the globe of the world and presenting to the saint a jewelled diadem.[1] This church belongs to the sixth century, and the mosaics cover the apse, the tribuna or presbyterium, and the triumphal arch before it. On the tribuna walls are a number of dogmatic pictures, with Old Testament characters, Abraham, Abel, Melchizedek, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others. They are variously interpreted, but the most likely interpretation is that they reflect the Christological disputes of the sixth century, in which the defenders of the Catholic faith crossed swords with the Monophysite followers of Eutyches.[2] The mosaics of S. Vitale are a striking example of the power of the theologian to lord it over the men of art, and a forecast of that long period of slavery to follow, in which the men of art were not permitted to think their own thoughts or shape their work according to the impulse or inspiration of their own hearts. The result is that, however splendid and impressive the mosaics of S. Vitale are, they show unmistakable marks of decadence, a decadence due not to the failure of art to speak the great thoughts of Christ, but to the paralysis of His mosaic-workers in the grip of dogma.

23. The richly decorated Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, has a bust of Christ in medallions on the soffits of the

[1] See the Christ of S. Costanza seated on a globe, and the Child-Christ of S. Maria Maggiore seated on a throne. [2] Dalton, p. 359.

arches nearest the entrance and nearest the altar. The Christ is youthful and beardless, with long flowing locks. A much damaged and restored figure of Him appears in the presbyterium, carrying a cross, like the famous Good Shepherd in the lunette of the mausoleum of Placidia. In the uppermost zone of the triumphal arch of the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe is a medallion with a red ground containing a bearded Christ, recalling the type of Cosmas and Damian. The blending of realism and symbolism in these pictures tends to become artificial. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, is a rare mosaic from a church in Ravenna, S. Michele in Affrisco, showing Christ as Emmanuel on a golden ground, between two angels, Michael and Gabriel. He is clad in purple, holds in His right hand a jewelled cross and in His left an open book with the Latin of the words, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father" and "I and the Father are one." In the centre of the zone of the triumphal arch, above this Christ of the apse, is another figure of our Lord. He is bearded, clad in purple, and sits upon a throne. His right hand is raised in kindly benediction, while His left holds open the Book of the Gospel.

24. Beside these mosaics of Ravenna, left for our gladdening still, many others have long since perished. We are told of a Christ of extraordinary beauty over the west door of the Basilica of Peter; of a series on our Lord within; of a Christ, above the main door of the Church of the Holy Cross, standing on the Holy Mount whence flowed the four rivers; of Christ as Judge seated on a throne between two angels, in the apse of the Church of S. Agatha; a series from the Life of Christ on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Ravenna, recalling

those of the sister Church of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; and many others.[1]

[1] See Dalton, chap. vi., *Mosaics in Italy and the Adriatic.* In other parts of Italy, beyond Ravenna, mosaic paintings of great beauty and interest are found, with many portraits of Christ that call for more attention than we can give them here. In the Cathedral, Naples, are some fine old Christ mosaics, with a lovely Good Shepherd. In Milan there is a youthful Christ holding world-dominion. In Dalmatia some fine mosaics of the Infant-years were recently discovered. In the Christian East, also, are many sacred mosaics with varying conceptions of Christ. In S. Sophia, Salonika, some very old work may be seen, especially a remarkable "Ascension." In the monastery of S. Catherine, Mt. Sinai, is a "Transfiguration," a subject rare in early Christian art. At Kiti, an island of Cyprus, and at Kanakaria also, old mosaics are found, as well as in the Church of S. Irene, Constantinople, where they have been examined by Mr. Walter George as late as 1910. In the great Church of the Divine Wisdom, Constantinople, is a magnificent Christ as Pantokrator (Ruler of all), a representation of Him which becomes very common in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Fine examples of eleventh-century work are in the Church of S. Luke, in Phocis, especially a huge and majestic Christ Pantokrator, a splendid bit of work, and in the Church of S. Sophia, Kieff, where there is also a Christ Pantokrator and a good example of the Deesis, *i.e.* Christ enthroned supplicated by the Mother and S. John Baptist.

Beautiful work of the "Second Golden Age" of Byzantine art may be studied in the monastery of Daphne, not far from Athens. "They mark," says Dalton, "the culminating point of the third period of Byzantine work, when the artist had learned to express his idea with astonishing refinement and grace of style" (p. 396). A magnificent Christ Pantokrator, with beautiful, suffering, pleading face, is here, and a lovely "Crucifixion" scene of much understanding and poetic suggestiveness. The "Crucifixion" occurs frequently during this period and succeeding centuries, not over-sorrowful to begin with, but, later, steeped in pain. The famous Church of S. Mark, Venice, has a number of mosaics of Byzantine influence, "Christ Ascending" in the central dome, and "Christ as Emmanuel" in the eastern cupola. In Torcello, not far from Venice, is a magnificent, colossal "Mother and Child," "Crucifixion," and "Doom." In Palermo are some splendid mosaic Christs; in the Cathedral of Monreale, a great Christ, book in hand; and in the Baptistery, Florence, a striking representation of the "Last Judgment," with colossal figure of Christ as Judge.

CHAPTER FOUR

# THE CHRIST OF THE WESTERN DAWN: DAWN OF RENAISSANCE

## SYNOPSIS

1. The wonder of the dawn.
2. Leaving the darkened chambers for the sunlight.
3. Events leading to the Renaissance.
4. Ruskin's criticisms of the new day.
5. Minor heralds of the dawn.
6. Cimabue and his Rucellai "Child."
7. Giotto, first of the Florentines.
8. His Christ of the Canon's Sacristy, Rome.
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14. Other works and special traits.
15. Giotto's followers: Taddeo Gaddi, Buffalmacco, Giovanni, and Giottino.
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19. His masterpiece in Siena Cathedral.
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26. The Brothers Lorenzetti: Pietro.
27. His "Crucifixions" at Siena and Assisi.
28. Ambrogio, the younger and greater.
29. Other painters of the dawn.

# CHAPTER FOUR THE CHRIST OF THE WESTERN DAWN: DAWN OF RENAISSANCE

THE heart throbs with gladness as our hands touch the dawn. We open our eyes in wonder, and look with radiant, smiling faces on the gold and crimson of the coming day. We cannot explain it, know not how it comes, or what it holds, but we laugh for joy, because it is light. The Western dawn, and the radiant, marvellous years we call the Renaissance, are facts that are here for our gladdening. But who can explain them? Why at that epoch in the world's history did the light dawn? What movement in the human brain, in the life and longing of countless men, known and unknown, made them turn in their dark and go out to meet the day? There is something mysterious, incalculable, and full of destiny about the whole thing, and the human heart looks in vain for full or adequate explanation of the marvellous, radiant facts. Beneath the shadows of the known, human hands and brains were working, human souls crying in their prison-house, and human hearts feeling for Christ in prayer, for the destiny that Goodness had in store for them, for the richer inheritance they felt the Kind Heart kept. But, above the shadows, surely, the Spirit of the Eternal was brooding, seeking to bring forth some ordered beauty, and working to accomplish the world's destiny. Of ages, as of men, no truer word was ever spoken than that of the Son of Man: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the

Spirit."[1] Particularly true is this of what we call the Renaissance.

2. It is not as if the days of the world were hard, or no good work were being done for Christ and the Church, in the ages we call Dark. The latest study of the art of the Byzantine period shows much that is beautiful and great amid defects of style and limitations of purpose. It is not, too, as if the new birth were confined to one man, or one town, or one nation. All over the world, in the thirteenth century, the wind was blowing and the dawn was breaking, though it came with deepest quickening to Italy and dawned with greatest beauty on the hills of Tuscany. It was as though it had been winter, and the life of the world had been lived indoors, and God said, "I will take my men of art into the open and into the sunshine, and show them the glory of My Son. I will cause them to leave their copies, and to throw away their books, and look upon His face, and paint the Vision. And I will make them to see the King in His beauty, and paint Him with a new joy in their hearts!" And it was so. And the men of art came out of the warm winter chambers of Byzantium, where they had dwelt a thousand years. And when they came forth, lo, it was spring, and the day was breaking, and the world was filled with God's glory. And, as they looked, they saw the face of the Son of Man again, "full of grace and truth." And they stood up, and hailed Him for greatness of joy.

3. With the sack of Constantinople, in 1204, the Roman Empire to all intents and purposes came to an end, if indeed it had not seen the end full a century

[1] S. John iii. 8

earlier, in 1081.[1] That great event, together with the fall of Rome, and all the other humiliations that had gone before, east and west, was certainly a deep mark in the preparation of the world for the dawn. It was the last furrow in the field of God's ploughing, before He sent His labourers into the field to sow the seed. East and west, north and south, the labourers went, scattering the seeds of freedom and beauty and new hope. In Northern and Central Italy especially the good seed took root, and sprang up, and brought forth fruit abundantly. In literature, in religion, in science, in art, men broke away from their time-worn chains, and went out to meet the day. The preaching of the Cistercian monks in the north, the charm of Francis of Assisi in the centre, and the work of thousands of nameless seers, east and west, opened the hearts of men to the breath of the new hope. And, before many hours had flown, dawn had sped to day. Before many years had gone, spring had passed to summer. "There is a day," says Wordsworth,—

> "There is a day in Spring
> When under all the earth the secret germs
> Begin to stir and glow before they bud.
> The wealth and pomp of midsummer
> Lie in the heart of that inglorious hour
> Which no man names with blessing though its work
> Is blessed by all the world."

True. True, also, of the days in spring before the midsummer pomp of our Renaissance. Specially true, and fine, and worth remembering, when we apply its tribute to the unknown workers of the hours before the dawn. They dipped their hands in the light of the new hope and worked for the new day.

[1] *The Byzantine Empire*, by Ed. A. Foord, p. 379.

4. That liberty was turned to licence often, and that many evils entered into the work of the Renaissance, may be granted freely. That art and life suffered in many ways, that religion itself lost some of its ancient power, and that many turned to shame and sorrow the hopes of the new day, may be admitted too. It may have led, as Ruskin says, to worship of beauty and pride.[1] Beauty in some cases may have been sought before truth, and all may have ended in ugliness and gloom.[2] Enervated sensuality may have laid its hand upon the work of not a few of the toilers.[3] Execution may have been preferred to feeling, dexterity to tenderness, experience to perception, and science to emotion.[4] Faith may have passed to fiction, and infidelity to shame in the life of many.[5] Licentiousness, luxury, and all their careless following may have entered into the hearts of not a few ere it was noonday.[6] Yet, when all is said, it was a glorious thing to see the dawn, and a great and joyous thing for the life of the world to pass from the winter of mediæval dark to the spring and summer of Renaissance light.

5. Among the heralds of the dawn in sacred art were such men as Giunta of Pisa, who painted his famous frescoes at Assisi early in the thirteenth century; Guido of Siena, who painted his "Madonna and Child" in the Church of San Domenica in 1221—Greek in character, yet wonderfully modern, and full of sweetness and grace; his disciple, Ugolino, who painted a similar picture at Florence, "a work," says Lord Lindsay, "of singular and almost un-

[1] *Crown of Wild Olives*, library edition, 445.
[2] *Modern Painters*, v. 324.
[3] *Seven Lamps*, 98.
[4] *Stones of Venice*, xi. 15 and 200.
[5] *Stones of Venice*, xi. 130, x. 324, and *The Old Road*, 430.
[6] *Stones of Venice*, ix. 343, 371, and xi. 75.

earthly beauty";[1] Buonaventura of Lucca; Margaritone, a disciple of Giunta, and painter of "the hideous crucifix"[2] now preserved in S. Croce, Florence; Bartolommeo of Florence;[3] and, best of all, Cimabue, a noble Florentine, born about the middle of the century.[4] The feet of all these men were in Byzantine gloom, and the hands of all were straitened, but their faces caught the gold and crimson of the dawn.[5]

6. Cimabue began in the Byzantine style, and only later came to his kingdom. He is regarded by many as the founder of the Modern Italian School, though others would give this honour to Giotto. Dr. Wickhoff is inclined to doubt whether a single painting by Cimabue is left to us, though three of the beautiful Madonnas ascribed to him by Vasari may still be seen.[6] The study of these clearly shows the breaking of the dawn, especially the colossal Rucellai Madonna in the Church of S. Maria Novella, Florence. This, the last and best of Cimabue's Madonnas, shows her seated on a throne, with the Child on her knee. The Child is a child at last, a sweet, natural child, with lovely, simple, childlike face and pose. The Mother is a beautiful expression of pure and winning womanhood, her face as fair as ever the eye could wish to see. A star is

[1] *History of Christian Art*, i. 337.
[2] *Ibid.* 340.
[3] Sir E. J. Poynter, p. 59.
[4] A.D. 1240–1302.
[5] Till now, we have mentioned few names. Most of the works referred to are by unknown artists. A few names appear in the records, but little is known of them or their work. They did their best for Christ and for His Church in their day and generation, then passed to their reward, their names perishing, their work enduring. The Christian Church is rich in art of many kinds from a host of unknown workers. Others have laboured, and we have entered into their labours.
[6] *The Painters of Florence*, by Julia Cartwright, p. 6. Dr. Richter ascribes the Rucellai Madonna to Duccio, but the evidence favours Cimabue.

on the napkin over her hair, and another on the shoulder of her simple, graceful robe. The throne on which she sits is supported by six fair angels kneeling. The whole conception marks a change, while the fine natural rendering of Mother and Child marks it out as a picture of special note. The return to nature gives it a pleasing beauty all its own. We are told by Vasari that all Florence flocked to see it, and that it was borne in triumph through her streets. A large "Crucifixion," with other frescoes, in the Church of S. Francis, at Assisi, is ascribed also to Cimabue, but this has fared badly of time.

7. Before he died, Cimabue, like many another master, saw himself outstripped by one of his own scholars, Giotto, the first of the great Florentines.[1] A shepherd's boy, son of a poor peasant, the story goes that Cimabue found him among the hills drawing a sheep with a sharp stone upon a rock. Impressed with the drawing, he carried him off to Florence.[2] A child of nature, and a man of great originality and genius, Giotto continued to look to nature for inspiration and guidance. Born about the same year as Dante, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship, he is to painting what Dante is to literature. In the rendering of natural feeling and gesture he proclaims the fact that his whole heart has seen the dawn. The best of his early work was done in the beautiful church designed by Fra Filippo, and erected at Assisi to the memory of S. Francis. Thus the shrine of S. Francis became the cradle of early Italian art.[3]

[1] A.D. 1276–1335.

[2] Another version of the story is that Giotto used to watch the artists in Cimabue's studio and showed such remarkable skill with the brush that he was apprenticed to Cimabue.

[3] *The Painters of Florence*, p. 14.

8. He has a fine Christ, in the Canon's Sacristy, Rome, richly robed,[1] and seated upon a throne surrounded by angels. The conception of the picture follows closely the Byzantine lines, with Gospels on left knee and right hand raised to bless. But new thoughts enter in and new feelings. The hard, staring eyes and condemning look of much Byzantine work of the decadent period give place to eyes that are kind and gentle. The face is shortened and the marks of emaciation are gone. Life and love are given to every line of the face and every turn of the body. The Christ is made flesh again, and remote conceptions of the Son of God give place to divine thoughts of the Son of Man. The theological Christ of Byzantine days is left alone, and the Great Friend and Lover of souls is brought back again. There is kindness and gentleness, fulness of grace and truth, about the whole rendering which make this Christ of Giotto a very winning and much-loved Christ.[2] Yet there is no lack of sublimity or dignity or kingliness. He is indeed a King, the King of Love and Lord of Life, and worthy of all adoration and honour from angels and men. It is easy to see that He is rightly seated on a throne, and easy to believe that He has simply come to His own. Looking at this kingly Christ and these adoring angels, it is not hard to feel the throb of the painter's thought, that the Word made flesh is none

[1] The Redeemer wears a blue mantle embroidered with white flowers, lined with white embroidered with gold flowers. See our illustration.

[2] In this Gothic period, 1200–1400, we have, says Ruskin, "the highest development of Italian character and chivalry with an entirely believed Christian religion: you get therefore joy and courtesy and hope and a lovely peace in death." But, with this, he marks two evils: persecution against all who do not accept the creed, and foul wrong-doing by those who accept it and believe it will save them no matter what their wrong.

other than the Eternal Christ, and that, beside Him, the place for angels and men is on lowly bended knee. Above this great Christ is another, in medallion, after the Byzantine manner. It is a half-figure, and the pose of the body and lines of the face recall strongly the Christ of Pudenziana.

9. In the Lower Church of Assisi, Giotto painted a series on the Childhood and Crucifixion of Jesus. They show a great advance on the frescoes of the Upper Church, which were devoted to an exposition of the life of S. Francis.[1] The scenes of the Childhood are full of human charm and tenderness, a frank, delightful naturalness characteristic of all Giotto's work. The Babe laying His little hand in blessing on the aged king's head, and the young Mother wrapping the Child in the folds of her mantle as she rides the ass and Joseph leads the way with pilgrim staff and bottle in hand, are touches, says Mrs. Ady, which no one but Giotto would have introduced.[2] In the Passion series the old Byzantine lines are followed, but a deeper note is struck. The "Crucifixion," with its vivid painting of the suffering of Christ, the passionate grief of S. John, the overwhelming sorrow of the fainting Mother, and the wild despair of the angels in the air, marks a great advance on Cimabue's crude realism. The "Pietà," with its Dead Christ, is declared by Mrs. Ady to resemble that of the Roman master in the Upper Church, but to be more dramatic in character.[3]

10. Another series painted by Giotto may be seen in the Arena Chapel at Padua. "The whole of the Arena

[1] Of these, and of the beautiful allegorical figures of Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty, in the Lower Church, we may not write here, though they should be seen and studied.

[2] *The Painters of Florence*, p. 24. [3] *Ibid.*

Chapel," according to Ghiberti, "was painted by the hand of Giotto." With the exception of the choir this is true. The frescoes of this chapel are characteristic of Giotto in triumphant mid-career. The vaulted roof is studded with gold stars on a blue ground, and adorned with medallions of Christ and His mother. A vision of Christ in glory occupies the space above the arch leading into the choir, and on the entrance wall is the "Last Judgment." Along the side walls are three rows of frescoes, representing thirty-eight scenes from the life of Christ and His mother. The "Annunciation," which as a type of the Incarnation, that central truth of Christendom, occupies the space on either side of the arch where Christ appears in glory, is a noteworthy piece of work.[1] The "Nativity," also, with its attendant angels, is excellent. Only two frescoes from the Ministry of Jesus call for special notice, being among the finest of the series.[2] The "Marriage in Cana" and the "Raising of Lazarus" are painted with great power. The marriage feast shows a merry company with a fine Christ. The suggestion of a heavenly presence at the festive board is well done. The strength and tenderness of the Christ calling Lazarus from the dead is a great and arresting bit of work, while the kneeling figures of Martha and Mary are pleasantly rendered. The wonder and astonishment of the onlookers as they behold Lazarus come forth, bound in his grave-clothes, a truly death-like figure, proclaim the painter's thought of the conquering power of Christ. "To

[1] See *The Painters of Florence*, pp. 24–28.

[2] Other subjects from the Life are the Entrance into Jerusalem, Christ expelling Pharisees from the Temple, Last Supper, Washing of Feet, Kiss of Judas, Christ before Caiaphas, Christ Scourged, Bearing His Cross. See Edward Hutton's edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting*, i. 235.

Giotto," says one, "it was not so much the historical fact of Christ rising from the dead which he endeavoured to portray, but Christ's revelations of Himself to the individual soul. The Resurrection, to Giotto, was a constant living reality, not merely a cold historical fact. To him as to S. Francis, Christ is life, and is continually revealing Himself to humanity."[1] The treatment of the theme at Padua is more dramatic and masterly than the fresco on the same subject at Assisi.

11. The pictures of the closing scenes of Christ's life are full of spiritual and dramatic power. The Crucifixion fresco itself is not reckoned quite as good as that in the Lower Church of Assisi, but there is a magnificent Crucifix painted by Giotto and suspended high up in the sanctuary of the Arena Chapel. "It would seem," say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "that, after a series of efforts and struggles which lasted for centuries, Giotto struck out the noblest and fittest ideal of the Saviour on the Cross. That it was difficult to create a better one is proved by the sequel of Florentine art history. Not one of Giotto's pupils improved the type of which he became the founder. Angelico alone, after him, was able to impart to the Redeemer tenderness, abnegation, and angelic resignation; but in doing this he sacrificed the energetic reality of thought which characterised the age of Dante, and substituted for the more natural type of Giotto one more becoming the essentially religious feeling of a pious monk."[2] The head is full of repose and resignation, and renders the idea of the God-Man bearing the sin

[1] *Christ in Art*, by Mrs. Jenner, p. 86.

[2] Edward Hutton's edition of their *History of Painting*, i. 239. Compare illustration of a Crucifix in S. Felice, Florence, attributed to Giotto. Two other Crucifixes certainly by him are in S. Marco and the Gondo-Dini Chapel, Florence (*ibid.* i. 240 and 263).

of the world better than any which the world till then had seen.

12. "All the grief and sorrow of the world," says Mrs. Ady, "seem gathered up in his great 'Pietà,' where the Virgin bends over her Son in a last embrace, and S. John throws back his arms in despair, while angels hide their eyes and rend the air with their wailing voices."[1] In his treatment of the Resurrection of Christ, Giotto gave the world a masterpiece. On one side are the white-robed angels, on the other Christ and Mary in the act of speaking, "*Noli me tangere*" and "*Rabboni.*" No artist before Giotto had ever tried to represent this charming and touching incident, and no master of later times ever painted so touching and beautiful a Magdalene as this one with the yearning eyes and the passion of love and rapture in her outstretched arms.[2] A very suggestive touch is in the contrast between the bare and withered trees behind the sepulchre and the budding fig and olive trees of the garden, with the singing birds on the grassy slopes. "For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land: the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away."[3] The story is told with the utmost simplicity and directness, and with tremendous power and spiritual beauty. The treatment of the Ascension is not quite so arresting, being more formal in arrangement,

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle regard this "Pietà" as one of Giotto's finest compositions, and almost equal to the highest creation due to his genius (i. 241).

[2] *Painters of Florence*, p. 30.

[3] Song of Solomon, ii. 11–13.

though there is a wonderful sense of movement in the form of the Ascending Christ and great power of expression in the upturned face of the Mother following Christ with straining eyes.[1]

13. The frescoes by Giotto in the great Franciscan Church of Santa Croce, Florence, have recently been restored to the world for its gladdening. Whitewashed by foolish hands in 1714, the wash has been removed, and the finest of Giotto's works that remain to us have been brought to light. In dramatic power, says Mrs. Ady, in truth and energy of action, in beauty of form and variety of expression, these frescoes in Santa Croce surpass all Giotto's other works. His unrivalled powers as a great epic painter are here revealed, and his profound knowledge of human nature and every form of life. Of the three scenes in the Peruzzi Chapel of Santa Croce, none specially interest us in our treatment of the Christ in art, but in the three devoted to the life of S. John the Evangelist there are two of particular power.[2] In the first, S. John is slumbering on Patmos when a vision of the Son of Man appears in the clouds, attended by an angel bearing a sickle, and a woman with the mystic Child in a cradle. In the other, the Ascension of S. John, we see the saint soaring in the heavens where Christ bends down to welcome him, a fine poetic ending to a nobly poetic life.[3]

[1] *Painters of Florence*, p. 30. The frescoes of the Virtues and Vices in this chapel at Padua by Giotto have been compared with Dante's treatment in his *Paradiso*. In fresco and poetry they "painted" the vices and virtues of their times.

[2] The first three are devoted to S. John the Baptist.

[3] See Edward Hutton's edition of *History of Painting*, vol. i. 256; *Painters of Florence*, pp. 36–37. These frescoes of S. Croce have a portrait of Dante by Giotto, much admired. For illustration of a Dante portrait see Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, vol. i. 125.

14. Many other frescoes of great worth were painted by Giotto, some of which have perished. Others may be seen in the Louvre, Naples, Florence, and elsewhere.[1] In all his work there was the mark of genius and extraordinary power, the mark, too, of a profound conviction and a deep sense of truth. The beautiful Tower which bears his name in Florence is but a symbol of his greatness and a sign of the beauty and grandeur of his work. What that is to architecture and sculpture, his paintings are to the frescoes and mosaics of old. A great allegorical, dramatic, and decorative artist, all the historians cannot find words enough with which to praise him. "It is impossible to overestimate the influence of Giotto's genius," says Lady Eastlake. "He opened a fountain of Nature to the gifted generations who succeeded him in Italy, which permeated through the length and breadth of the land, spreading beauty and fertility in its course."[2] "Painting stands indebted to Giotto beyond any of her children," says Lord Lindsay. He "infused new life into the traditional types," "vindicated the right of Modern Europe to think, feel, and judge for herself." With "unwearied study, growing power, cheerful sympathy, and playful humour," he did his work. More: "Throughout his works we are conscious of an earnest, a lofty, a religious aim and purpose, as of one who felt himself a pioneer of civilisation in a newly discovered world, the Adam of a new Eden freshly planted in the earth's wilderness, a mouthpiece of God and a preacher of righteousness to mankind."[3] "The first of the great personalities in Florentine painting was Giotto," says

[1] See the Christ by Giotto in the National Gallery, London.
[2] *Handbook of Painting*, i. 136.
[3] *History of Christian Art*, ii. 65–66.

Berenson. "The rendering of tactile values" he regards as "the most important specifically artistic quality of Giotto's work," and his "claim to everlasting appreciation as an artist: that his thorough-going sense for the significant in the visible world enabled him so to represent things that we realise his representations more quickly and more completely than we should realise the things themselves."[1] His influence in the world of art cannot be put too high, or his contributions to the artistic expression of the glory of the Son of Man over praised. He gave us a new Christ, full of grace and truth, and a new heaven and new earth in which to view Him.

15. As might be expected, Giotto, with his commanding genius and liberating power, had many followers and many imitators. Chief among these were the men of art called the Giotteschi, only a few of whom we name. Taddeo Gaddi, the son of Gaddo Gaddi, and constant helpmate of Giotto,[2] continued his work in form if not always in spirit. In the Academy, Florence, may be seen many of his paintings of Christ, including the Baptism, Transfiguration, Last Supper, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. The figure of the Saviour in the Crucifixion scene is slender and almost nude, and is certainly less perfect in form and of worse proportions than the wonderful Christ of Giotto.[3] Buffalmacco, the chief jester of the men of art, a man of the most rollicking humour of whom many excruciatingly funny stories are told,[4] is said to have painted a "Christ in Glory." Not a single picture and little of his work remains.

[1] *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, p. 19.
[2] Giotto was his godfather.
[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 303, illustrated 301.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 323.

His jests remain, but his works have perished. It is doubtful if the Passion scenes in the Campo Santo, Pisa, are rightly attributed to him. Giovanni da Milano,[1] a man who gave much care to his form, studied reality, and combined Florentine lightness with Sienese warmth, gave the world a realistic Christ in the "Dead Saviour" now in the Academy, Florence; an important bit of work in the altarpiece now at Prato, including "Christ on the Mount," the "Kiss of Judas," and the "Procession to Calvary"—a reminiscence of the Giottos at Padua; and some wonderful frescoes at Santa Croce, Florence, including the Christ in the centre of the ceiling, alone, and in the attitude of benediction; a realistic scene representing Mary Magdalene washing Christ's feet; and another, Mary at the feet of Christ and Martha scolding, "cumbered about much serving." "Giottino," the nickname of an artist whose real name has been lost, painted a Crucifixion scene with much realistic power; the famous and beautiful "Deposition," now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, a really great and powerful work; and a beautiful Christ, with hand uplift to bless, in the Lower Church of S. Francis, Assisi, finely painted and very pleasing, and, in every way, a triumph for this unknown follower of the great Giotto.

16. Orcagna, the Archangel, was one of the greatest workers of the dawn.[2] Poet, painter, sculptor, architect, gentleness and severity were combined in him in a remarkable degree, the sternness of Florence with the softness of Siena. Without affectation or licence, he had great depth of religious feeling, and delighted in that mild mysticism

[1] See Mrs. Ady's *Painters of Florence*, p. 52, and Mr. Hutton's edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 336.

[2] Orcagna is an abbreviation for Archagnuolo the Archangel.

which culminated in the art of Angelico. These qualities are seen in his frescoes of "Paradise" and the Last Judgment, both in the Strozzi Chapel. The Paradise fresco has faces full of charm and grace, though Berenson is tempted to believe that some of this may be due to the work of a recent restorer.[1] The figure of Christ on the throne with His mother by His side is a commanding bit of work. The grouping of the countless figures in front is splendid, and the sense of happiness and repose is finely conveyed. To place the Mother on the throne by the side of the Christ, and to magnify her place in Heaven in the way Orcagna and others do, may not be agreeable to Reformed eyes, but there can be no doubt of the beauty of the Mother of our Lord in this and other great frescoes, and no doubt of the wealth that the men of art, as well as the Church of pre-Reformation times, were willing to pour at her feet. A white, serene, and radiant figure, she is here throned together with her Son. Christ, in a blue mantle, is a pleasing King, young though bearded, a kind and gracious calm on His face, a sceptre in His left hand, and a crown on His brow.

17. In striking contrast with this is the Christ of the Judgment fresco.[2] Like Michael Angelo's Judge, which this may have partly suggested, Orcagna's has stirred some controversy. Of the two, Orcagna's is the more pleasing, and Angelo's the more powerful and dramatic. The modern revulsion against the thought of Christ judging and condemning should not be allowed to mar one's view of this work as art and as an expression of the all-prevailing thought of the time. The best qualities of

[1] *Florentine Painters*, p. 23. Both frescoes are in a bad state of preservation.

[2] See our illustration.

contemporary Sienese and Florentine art are here combined, says Mrs. Ady, and the white-robed Virgin kneeling before the Judge, pleading for sinful mortals, is one of the finest figures in Trecento art.[1] For a picture of the kind there is marvellous repose about the chief figures in the scene, and absence of hard or cruel thinking in the painting of the Christ. To call it a great and terrible picture may be right, but to say that the "early Giottesque conception of Christ as always merciful, always loving, gave place in Orcagna to a fearful sense of His inexorable justice,"[2] is to go beyond the mark. If there is to be a picture of the Last Judgment at all, I can conceive of none milder than this of the great Orcagna, and if there is to be a painting of Christ as Judge I can wish for none more pleasing and more merciful and loving than the Christ of the Strozzi Judgment. If Orcagna had taken for his text "Will not the Judge of all the earth do right?" he could not have been happier in his painting, or kinder in his expression of the heart of his age, than in this great and wonderful Judgment. The Christ is not repellent, hard, or cruel, but mild almost to the point of weakness. There is no frenzy or fury of wrath, no turbulence of anger, but extraordinary calm, and quiet purpose, and sureness of touch. Soaring in heavenly places, half seated on a throne, crowned with celestial power, and half visible among the clouds, He looks down with searching eyes upon the souls beneath, His right hand upraised to bless and judge, His left hand drawing aside His robe and showing His wounded side.

[1] *Painters of Florence*, p. 63.

[2] Mrs. Jenner's *Christ in Art*, p. 94. Fra Angelico painted many a "Judgment," but one has only to compare them with Orcagna's to feel how good this is.

The guilty and conscience-stricken are painted with power, of course, and the painting, as a sermon in colour addressed to that age, tells with terrifying might the lot of the damned. But the figure of the Christ Himself is not hopeless, and the white Mother pleading in front of Him, reverently, calmly, inspires the thought that He will do what is right, and show mercy, if mercy be good. The kneeling, worshipping, ecstatic apostles bear out the same thought. A great picture this, and worthy of many a look, whatever the shifting thoughts of the Judgment may be. The face of the Christ is scarce beautiful, but there is grace and kindness in every touch, and a suggestion of reluctant condemnation and pleading rebuke, in keeping with many a passage in the matchless Life.[1]

18. The Tuscan painters of Northern Italy found the dawn, also, under the lead of Duccio, the first great painter of the Sienese School. A contemporary of Cimabue and Giotto, he did for Siena what they did for Florence—gave it a new school and a new vision. In the school of Siena the contemplative principle in painting is developed, and Duccio with his prayerful, meditative spirit did for religious contemplative art what Giotto with his natural abounding energy did for dramatic. Lord Lindsay can scarcely praise him too highly, and thinks he may challenge comparison on the score of richness of fancy, taste in composition, truth and variety of expression, and general mechanical execution, with any of the masters of the dawn. As a painter he is self-formed, independent of Giotto and every artist, apparently, except Niccola Pisano—the all-dominating Pisano,

[1] Altarpieces, with fine pictures of Christ by Orcagna, were painted for the Strozzi Chapel and other churches.

of whom all critics have much to say.[1] Yet there can be little doubt that Duccio, great painter though he was, has not anything like the influence of either Cimabue or Giotto. With the dawn upon his face, and the light of the new day in his soul, he turned himself to the past, and was content to make beautiful the conceptions and forms of Byzantium. Steeped though he was in the spirit of the Gospel story, and overwhelmed with its emotions, he loved the past too much to "leave all and follow." A man of deep religious feeling and great artistic soul, he is a master who has missed his kingdom, a great painter (greater even than Giotto in some ways) who flung away the future at the call of the past.

19. His masterpiece is the great work in the Cathedral, Siena. Originally painted as an altarpiece, and carried amid the cheers of Siena to the holy altar, it has been divided into two. The front of the original screen has a beautiful Mother and Child, covering a space fourteen feet long, by six high. She is seated on a large and finely decorated throne, surrounded by angels. The contemplative spirit is made to appear on the face of the Mother and the angels alike. This very striking and pleasing feature should be carefully marked and compared with such a picture as Cimabue's "Enthroned Madonna" in the Rucellai Chapel, Florence.[2] The Child-Christ is a real Child, simple, natural, childlike, beautiful. The drapery, pose, and grouping are all that one could wish, while the colour is very pleasing. In

[1] "In the pavement of the Duomo of Siena," says Vasari, "Duccio made a beginning in marble for the inlaid work of the figures in chiaroscuro, wherein to-day modern craftsmen have made the marvels that are seen in them" (De Vere's beautiful edition, vol. ii. p. 9).

[2] Compare Poynter's *Italian Painting*, p. 61, and Hutton's edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii., frontispiece.

every way a fine piece of work. The back of the original altarpiece has been parted from the front, and contains twenty-six scenes from the Passion.[1]

20. The Passion scenes are painted with great power and elaborate detail, and display great boldness of treatment, yet they show clearly that Duccio was unable to break away from the forms and ideals of the past. "Without much nobleness of type or character," say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "the Christ of Duccio has suffering features; but the intelligence of form and anatomy displayed by the painter was great considering the period. He made no attempt to idealise like Giotto, and contented himself with an imitation of nature's flesh and bone in somewhat vehement action."[2] The intense feeling and sorrow of the Mother, the Magdalene, and others, gathered round the Cross or taking part in the last tributes to the Dead Christ, are rendered with such intense emotion that one is made to realise the pain and agony that racked their souls. Yet one scarcely enters into their feeling, or shares their grief, or suffers along with them. An element of exaggeration and a tendency to over-elaborateness rob the scene of its simplicity and mar the painter's triumph. Duccio's "Crucifixion" should be compared with Giotto's. In Giotto we have a finely chosen form, beautifully painted and spiritually idealised. In simplicity and strength it tells its passionate story, and concentrates on the Central Figure. In Duccio's "Crucifixion" we have a crowded picture, with Christ and the thieves on great high crosses, a flock of

[1] Three panels from this series, containing the "Annunciation," "Transfiguration," and "Healing of Blind," are now in the National Gallery, London, and other parts are in private collections.

[2] Edward Hutton's edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 13.

angels above them, fourteen in all, and two crowds of men and women on the earth, on each side of the Cross. The painting of the flesh of the almost nude Christ and thieves is realistic, and the agony on the face of the Sufferer intense. But the treatment is somewhat theatrical, especially the grouping of the crowds about the Cross and the painting of the swooning Mother. Endowed with deep religious feeling, realistic power, and a lovely sense of colour, Duccio does not carry us with him to the Cross or make us fall down and worship at Christ's feet. He shows us too much, and fails to show us the Son alone in His agony. He crowds his panel with distracting figures, a multitude of men, women, and angels, and takes our eyes away from the central theme. He fails to concentrate, and fails to make us feel alone or one with the Suffering Christ.

21. Lord Lindsay praises highly Duccio's "Deposition from the Cross," in this Passion series. It is Byzantine in form and arrangement, and Duccio was content to appreciate and paint afresh a beautiful Byzantine composition marked by dramatic incident and passion. "Reiterated with more or less variation by innumerable painters from Giotto to Rubens, but by none, I think, with such pathos and deep feeling as Duccio."[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider this and the Entombment ("where the passion natural to the mother embracing her Son for the last time is rendered in a degree unusually intense") forcible and vehement, certainly, but marked by exaggeration and lack of reserve.[2] Much more powerful, because much more simple, is the painting of the "Women at the Tomb." Nothing finer

[1] Lord Lindsay's *History of Christian Art*, ii. 135.
[2] Edward Hutton's edition, ii. 13.

had ever been produced in the olden time," says Mr. Edward Hutton, "than the 'Maries at the Sepulchre,' whether considered in reference to type or to form and action."[1] "I know of no more impressive rendering of this most marvellous of all subjects," says Mr. Berenson. "To the drama of expression and gesture, Duccio adds the drama of light, with all its transfiguring magic. A bronzed purple glow flashes through the thin air, and we feel the vivifying cool of the dayspring."[2] Kugler gives a woodcut of this and of "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem," both of which are worthy of study.[3] Other pictures by Duccio may be seen in the Academy of Arts, Siena, Buckingham Palace, National Gallery, London, and elsewhere.[4] He died August 3, 1319.

22. Duccio shone in all that the mediæval mind demanded of a painter, yet his work is nearly forgotten. He painted the stories of the Christ with great power, rich and varied colour, sense of space, love of light and shade, fine and accurate drawing, excellent perspective, wonderful composition, simplicity, intensity, and abounding faith. He brought genius of a high order to his task, and love for Christ and the Church dominated his labour, and yet his work has little to tell the heart of to-day. "Tactile values and movement," says Mr. Berenson, "are the essential qualities in the figure arts," and it is in these qualities that Duccio fails: "no figure-painting is real—has a value of its own apart from the story it has to tell, the ideal it has to present—unless it conveys ideated sensations of touch and

[1] *History of Painting in Italy*, ii. 12.

[2] *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, p. 22.

[3] *Handbook of Painting*, i. 164–165.

[4] See Hutton, ii. 19. The late Mr. Pierpont Morgan had a triptych in his American collection.

movement."[1] "For Duccio, the human figure was in the first place important as a person in a drama, then as a member in a composition, and only at the last, if at all, as an object whereby to stimulate our ideated feelings of touch and movement. The result is we admire him profoundly as a pictorial dramatist, as a Christian Sophocles, somewhat astray in the realm of painting; we enjoy his material splendour and his exquisite composition, but rarely if ever do we find him directly life-communicating."[2]

23. Duccio had many followers,[3] but none greater than Simone Martini.[4] "I have known two painters," says Petrarch, "talented both, and excellent, Giotto of Florence, whose fame amongst the moderns is great, and Simone of Siena."[5] He followed in the steps of Duccio, and might have been a greater artist had he broken away early from his dominion. When he did venture to break away it was scarcely for his own good, however, or the good of art: he leapt over the wide limits of artistic expression into the outer waste of mere illustration. Says one: "He clothed Christ in a rich dress and brought his art to a point where it seems to claim admiration more by richness and copiousness of ornament than by simplicity or beauty of shape and features."[6] Says another: "Even when he freed himself from Duccio's example, it is not as an artist with a feeling for the solemnity of actions which have almost a sacramental import that Simone reveals himself. The charm, the beauty, even the pride of life attracted him more. . . .

[1] *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 35.

[3] Ugolino (whose "Betrayal" and "Christ bearing His Cross" are in the National Gallery, London), Segna, and others.

[4] Born at Siena, 1283.

[5] *Epist.* 17, lib. v.

[6] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 28.

Simone subordinates everything—and he was great enough to have much to subordinate—to his feeling for magnificence, beauty, and grace."[1] He was a master of colour, had a remarkable feeling for line, and understood decorative effects as a great master understands his instruments.[2] Berenson calls him "the most lovable of all the Italian artists before the Renaissance."

24. He has a beautiful Child Christ in the Hall of Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, and another painted for a church in Pisa. Simone gives us a plump and round-cheeked Child, with a pouting lip, a vast forehead, short curly locks, and a glance more threatening than kindly.[3] The altar-piece at Pisa contained many compartments and subjects. The Madonna and Child are very graceful, and the women, S. Catherine and S. Agnes especially, very beautiful. The Saviour in the central pinnacle is a striking bit of work, a youthful face, broad at the cheeks, a lock on the forehead, and a thin frame. The type expresses a soft tenderness, without the weight or noble gravity of Giotto.[4] The "Ecce Homo" of the pediment is likewise noble; the draperies and colours throughout are charming. Another "Virgin and Child" may be seen at Orvieto. The "Annunciation," now in Uffizi, Florence, is a beautiful example of Simone's work, with its fair angel and lovely Madonna. In the Sala del Consiglio, Siena, Simone painted a Redeemer in benediction, and in Assisi another vision of Christ. The latter is simple and regular in form, with a soft and kind expression: a Christ not unlike that of Giotto in this famous

[1] *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 45. [2] *Ibid.* p. 47.

[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 28. Simone painted other "Infant Redeemers" at Siena (*ibid.* pp. 40–41).

[4] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 31.

The Pilgrim Christ.

*Fra Angelico.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

*Page* 109.

Christ of "The Transfiguration."

*Fra Angelico.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome*

*Page* 110.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome

church and distinct from his own and Duccio's previous conceptions.[1] In two chapels of Avignon, also, are several fresco paintings of the Christ. In the Pope's Chapel there is a picture of Him, erect, with double-edged sword issuing from His mouth, dressed in a white tunic, and holding the keys. A natural and simple attitude and action, a tender religious mildness in the face, distinguish this figure of the Redeemer.[2] In the lunette above the entrance to this chapel is a "Crucifixion," in many ways remarkable. The Saviour, erect on the Cross, is committing His mother to the tender care of S. John. The nude figure of Christ is of fair proportions, with a soft expression of face, and is regarded as the best representation of the Crucified Redeemer that had yet been produced by the Sienese School.[3] While at Avignon, Simone painted many panel pictures, one of which is the "Return of the Saviour from the Temple," now in the Liverpool Gallery. This was painted two years before his death, July 1344.

25. Other painters of the Sienese School who must be mentioned are Lippo Memmi, Barna, and Luca di Tomé. Lippo, the brother-in-law and partner of Simone, painted many Child-Christs in the arms of the Mother, whose grace and beauty is almost Raphaelesque. At his best he is great as Simone. Barna, or Berna, was highly praised by Ghiberti. In S. Gimignano he painted a long series of the Passion, and many of the leading incidents of the Life, including the Annunciation, Nativity, Magi's Offering, Circumcision, Massacre of Innocents, Dispute with

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 35. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 52.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 53. Berenson accepts these frescoes as Simone's, while Venturi and Perkins assign them to his school. Another "Crucifixion" may be seen at Antwerp, and a "Christ Bearing His Cross" in the Louvre.

the Doctors, Baptism, Marriage at Cana, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, and Entry into Jerusalem. The Passion series include the Last Supper, Judas Bargaining, Christ in Gethsemane, Capture, Before Caiaphas, Flagellation, Crowned with Thorns, Carrying His Cross, and Crucifixion. There were also pictures of the Entombment, Resurrection, and Ascension, but these are now obliterated. Barna's Saviour is heavy, less attractive even than that of Simone, whose influence is clearly marked in much of his work. Luca di Tomé, a pupil perhaps of Barna, and a disciple certainly of Simone, has also done much work after the Sienese manner, but his Christ figures are far from pleasing. He painted many "Crucifixions." One in the Museum of Pisa is described as having a Saviour "gaunt, withered, a mere scabbard of bones, muscles, and skin, shadowed with dark verde and of low yellowish tone in lights."[1]

26. If these followed closely in the wake of Simone, the brothers Lorenzetti struck out a line for themselves. Though contemporaries of Simone and true followers of Duccio, they disdained the affected grace of the former, and carried the latter's themes to the utmost pitch of frantic feeling.[2] Full of vigour, and capable of brilliant work at their best, Berenson regards them as having made the great refusal by condescending to paint the most obvious and easy emotion.[3] The elder brother, Pietro, has a beautiful "Virgin

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 71. See reproduction in colour of Barna's "Agony in the Garden," in Mr. De Vere's beautiful edition of Vasari's *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 4, and consider Vasari's saying apropos of Barna's early death: "If those who labour to become excellent in some art did not very often have the thread of life cut by death in their best years, I have no doubt that many intellects would arrive at that rank which is most desired both by them and by the world" (vol. ii. p. 3).

[2] *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 49. [3] *Ibid.* p. 49.

and Child" in the little Church of S. Ansano, Siena. The Virgin is regarded as the finest of the Sienese School, being youthful, noble, and well draped.[1] The Child also is good, though not so fine as the Mother. Other Madonnas by him may be seen in the Lower Church of S. Francis, Assisi, and S. Maria della Pieve, Arezzo. They combine the grace of Simone with a force which is the sure gift of Pietro Lorenzetti.[2] The conventional Sienese droop, features, and wistful meditative gaze are all retained, but they are painted with a new and marvellous power. He combined thought with technical skill, defined light and shade with a breadth unknown to his predecessors, rivalled the tempera of the Florentines, and though he did not always keep himself free from overmastering detail, he held to broad and easy lines, and painted in powerful tones.[3]

27. In the Church of S. Francesco, Siena, there is a powerful "Crucifixion" by Pietro, a crowded fresco with figures larger than life. The Christ, a powerful and robust figure almost nude, hangs on the Cross in the last agony. The Maries at His feet combine the power of Niccola Pisano and the exaggeration of Michael Angelo.[4] It is a work of extraordinary power. So, too, is the fresco of the "Saviour rising from the Tomb," seen in the refectory of S. Francesco also. But we have to go to the church of the same saint at Assisi to see Pietro at his best and to mark the distinguishing features of the Sienese School in their painting of the Passion. The Florentines give to each incident in the closing scenes equal space, but the Sienese give to the Crucifixion a fourfold area, making it a scene of

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 77.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 80.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 81, with illustrations following.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 82.

overwhelming importance and forcing it powerfully on the mind of the changing world. The tremendous energy of Pietro gives to the scene commanding power. The great figure of the Christ hangs on the Cross, simple, massive, lifeless, a marvellous study of the human frame. Round Him is a flight of vehement, adoring angels, and on either side of the Cross are numerous figures on foot and horse. The figure of the Christ in the Entombment scene is equally remarkable, and the Christ of his "Resurrection" is a rare bit of animated work. About all this painting, however, there are two opinions. "Such," we are told, "is the perfect harmony of all these scenes, such the vigour, lightness, and brilliancy of their colour, that they are quite imposing, and show Pietro Lorenzetti in a most advantageous light. First among the artists of Siena, he made a near approach to the perfection of Florence."[1] In glaring opposition to this, Berenson condemns the Passion scenes at Assisi as "rubbish," and asserts that he carries Duccio's themes to the utmost pitch of frantic feeling. "Form, movement, composition,—even depth and significance,—all have been sacrificed to the expression of the most obvious and easy emotion. Such anarchy has seldom again overtaken an Italian master even of the Bolognese School."[2]

28. Ambrogio, the younger but more gifted of the brothers Lorenzetti, is held also by Berenson to have made the great refusal. Giotto with one or two figures could make men see and feel all that he thought, the Lorenzetti must have vast panoramas overshadowed by figures powerless to speak for themselves.[3] Many people will

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 86.
[2] *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 49. [3] *Ibid.* p. 50.

feel that this is true, and that, on other grounds than Berenson's, they could wish the Lorenzetti had given us fewer figures and simpler expression of their thoughts. Yet, at their best, they could paint with singular charm. "What fascination," says Berenson himself, "they can give to figures yet possessed of the highest dignity and solemnity, we can see in Ambrogio's portable altarpiece at Siena, wherein the Madonna, hieratic, Egyptian, sits enthroned in the midst of Virgins, glowing like flames, and ancient saints yearning towards her." In Siena, too, is an "Annunciation" by Ambrogio where, Berenson declares, "the Blessed Virgin is warm with welcome and gladness as she leans forward to receive the palm of martyrdom which Gabriel brings her with his message." And at Assisi, also, he tells us, there is a fresco by Pietro "of such relief and such enamel as to seem contrived of ivory and gold rather than painted," and in which "the Madonna holds back heart-broken tears as she looks fixedly at her Child."[1] Babe though He be, He addresses her earnestly, yet she remains unconsoled. Nowhere is beauty more penetrating or more magical than in the best work of the younger Lorenzetti. Ghiberti goes into raptures over it, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle make the same claim for much of Pietro's work. The brothers worked together, and probably died together, in the plague of the year 1348.

29. Passing by the works of Ugolino, a fine painter of Madonnas; Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, who has a beautiful "Christ crowning His mother" and a "Descent from the Cross"; Andrea di Vanni, who had a famous "Christ bearing His Cross," pronounced perfect but long since perished;

[1] *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 48. See, also, his "Presentation in the Temple," now in the Florence Gallery.



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Pietro di Puccio, and others, I come to the honoured name of Taddeo Bartoli, whose rapid and prolific hand closed the fourteenth and opened the fifteenth century for Sienese art.[1] He has a rich and striking picture of "Christ receiving the soul of His mother" (symbolised as a little child), with a beautiful head full of tenderness and sweetness. This is at Pisa. A colossal "Crucifixion" scene, painted by him for the Spedale of Siena, though a clever bit of realism, is not so pleasing. A beautiful "Annunciation" may be seen in the Siena Gallery, with "Christ Crucified," in a panel above, a fine bit of work, exceedingly suggestive and arresting. It has much depth of feeling, tenderness, and grace.[2]

These all died in faith, their faces radiant, and in their hearts the golden light of dawn.

[1] Lord Lindsay's *History of Christian Art*, ii. 174–187; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 111; and Kugler, i. 173.

[2] Taddeo Bartoli had great influence and many imitators.

CHAPTER FIVE

# THE CHRIST OF THE MORNING HOURS: EARLY RENAISSANCE

## SYNOPSIS

1. Early Renaissance and the art of expression.
2. Fra Angelico, the man and the painter.
3. His great "Crucifixion" in S. Mark's.
4. His "Pilgrim-Christ" and "Ecce Homo."
5. His "Transfiguration" and "Last Supper."
6. Masaccio the pupil of Masolino.
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# CHAPTER FIVE THE CHRIST OF THE MORNING HOURS: EARLY RENAISSANCE

WITH the dawn of the Renaissance, and the breaking up of men's thoughts, came the desire to paint Christ as men saw Him, and to give expression to the thoughts of their heart concerning Him. The men of art were no longer content to do the bidding of the Church and paint the Christ of the Creeds, but longed to make Him human once again, human yet divine. With growing mastery in technique and growing power in the expression of their emotions, they tried to paint the days of His flesh and to unfold the glory of His Passion. "The whole story of His life," as one says, "must now be told—not in the passionless simplicity of portraiture with which it had been told in the catacombs and basilicas, but with the passion of the great revival of art, and with the knowledge that makes the human face an open book to the artist."[1] The days of His Passion especially claimed increasing attention, and came to hold the first place in the work of the men of art. The spell of S. Francis, as we have seen, laid its hand on the heart of the painters, and inspired some of their best work at Assisi and elsewhere. With the rise of the Dominican Order, as

[1] *Rex Regum*, p. 112. Compare, also, *The Witness of Art*: "There was an element in Christian Art that Classic Art never admitted—that is, suffering. The Christian could not leave out that element of suffering: it had become part of his faith. . . . The strength of Classic Art had been its ideal beauty; the strength of the Renaissance was the passion of expression. . . . Mediæval Art was religious, or it was nothing. Mediæval Art, in its first splendour, was Art transfigured by contact with the divine character and person of Christ" (p. 66 ff.).

Mrs. Jenner writes, a more intellectual movement overspread the emotional religion of S. Francis, and this in turn found expression in the work of the men of art.[1] These and other religious and intellectual movements undoubtedly influenced the studio,[2] as well as the world and the Church, and left their mark on the painting of the time. Along with these, came the growing sense of the beauty of the world, of form and of colour, and our men of art in growing numbers gave their heart to the painting of beautiful pictures, though not always with advantage to the Christ or to the high claims of their own art.[3]

2. If to his day Orcagna seemed an Archangel, not to his day only but to all the ages Giovanni da Fiesole, the gentle Dominican friar, is the angel-painter. Fra Angelico they called him, loving him much and loving his paintings more, and Fra Angelico, the angelic brother, he will be till the end of time. In him religious feeling and aspiration were combined as never before, and power to paint the deep mysteries and mystic dreams of the Christ-life. To no other, perhaps, has the brush been so sacred, so divinely appointed to fulfil a great destiny, so reverently and joyously accepted and consecrated to a beautiful and holy task. "All the passionate thought of the mediæval heart," says one, "the passionate love of God and man that beat in the heart of S. Francis, the yearnings of Dante's soul after a higher and more perfect order, the poetic dreams of

[1] *Christ in Art*, p. 93.

[2] In our haste to greet the light we pass by the early Umbrian School and the work of Bologna, Padua, and Venice.

[3] In the early Renaissance, says Ruskin, "the arts of Greece and some of its religion return and join themselves to Christianity; not taking away its sincerity and earnestness, but making it poetical instead of practical."

the monks who sang of the Celestial Country, are embodied in the art of Angelico."[1] "The art of Angelico," says another, "was inspired and inborn, and he adapted to his religious feeling the means best suited to its expression."[2] It is said that he never retouched or altered anything he had once finished, but left it as it had turned out, the will of God being that it should be so. Vasari tells us that he never represented Christ Crucified without having his cheeks bathed in tears, and others that he never touched a brush till he had humbled himself in prayer.[3] He loved his work so well, and held to his sacred task so fondly, that he declined to lay down his brush for the archbishopric of Florence. A great painter, he is even a greater man, and the heart turns to him kindly. Quiet calm and confidence, supreme harmony and repose rest on all his work. If it is not always perfect in light and shade, in its anatomy and form, it is well-nigh perfect as an expression of the deepest thoughts that lay then in the heart of the Christian Church.[4]

3. It may be seen at its best on the walls of the convent of S. Mark, Florence. On the principal wall of the chapter-house is the great "Crucifixion," "one of the most impressive pictures in the world."[5] In the Christ of Angelico we have "the finest and most suitable exposition of the ideal of One who, bleeding for the sins of the world, pardons and prays for His enemies. An intense depth of feeling animates the face if not the frame of the God-Man."[6]

[1] Mrs. Ady's *Painters of Florence*, p. 101.

[2] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 263. Berenson calls him the typical painter of the transition from Mediæval Age to Renaissance.

[3] Vasari, vol. iv. pp. 37–39. [4] Born 1387, died 1455.

[5] *Painters of Florence*, p. 108. The subject is repeated in the first cloister of the same convent. See reproduction in colour in E. L. Seeley's *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*, 1907.

[6] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 267.

# THE CHRIST OF THE

"The death of Christ on the Cross is here represented," says Mrs. Ady, "not as a historical event, but as a sacred mystery for the devout contemplation of the Christian believer."[1] Less accurate in reality and form than Giotto's great Crucified Christ, it has nothing of his severity, but pictures sublime resignation and sacrifice, and gives in idealised splendour the heartbreak of Eternal Love dying for men. "Fra Angelico," rightly says Mrs. Jenner, "neither attempted nor desired to place a correct rendering of the *actual* scene before men's minds, but the spiritual significance of the greatest act of Creation."[2] A dreamer and a mystic, on whose soul had fallen the peace of God, he is not disturbed even by the pain of the Cross. A resting calm lies over the scene and a vision that sees beyond the shame. S. Dominic kneels at the foot of the Cross in prayer, and others stand by in quiet adoration. Even the Maries are not stricken beyond hope. A sense of a great achievement is finely conveyed, and the consciousness of a great triumph. In Giotto's fine picture the women are torn with grief, the soldiers fight with one another, the angels fly with swift wings to the side of the Sufferer, and we have strength and dramatic energy. In Angelico the Sufferer is a Conqueror, and there is less need for tears than for prayers. All recognise that here save one—the thief that turns on the Christ and his fellow cursing and reviling. "Giotto first, Angelico last, gave to the Crucified Saviour His proper forms; and the friar found the truest ideal of a figure whose

[1] *Painters of Florence*, p. 108.

[2] *Christ in Art*, p. 100. Compare Fra Angelico's great saying, "He who occupies himself with the things of Christ must ever dwell with Christ."

significance had been developed by the founder of Italian art."[1]

4. Over the door of the refectory of this same convent there is a wonderfully beautiful Christ, "wounded for our transgressions," and over the door of the Foresteria, or guest-house, a Christ whom we all love, dressed as a pilgrim, staff in hand, and hat falling over His shoulders. The face, like so many of Fra Angelico's, is radiantly beautiful, and the conception is worked out with such charming simplicity and open pleasure that this may be regarded as one of the happiest pictures of Christ ever painted.[2] It tells with glee the story of the Christ who is with us still, who comes to men's lives in the form of a Pilgrim, and finds His highest joy in finding men ready and eager to receive Him, give Him hospitality, and try His works to do. "I was a stranger, and ye took Me in." What more beautiful illustration could be given, asks Mrs. Jenner, of the Dominican Order, which went out into the highways and hedges, seeking for the lost, because they were Christ's?[3] In S. Mark's, also, is a beautiful "Ecco Homo," with an almost nude Christ, beautifully painted, and telling in its great appeal, and a fresh and blithe "Noli me Tangere," the garden a triumph of spring, and the figures of Mary and the Risen Christ full of grace and happy charm. The garden of this picture is in keeping with Angelico's spring-like optimism: Christ to him is a great refreshing fact and a source of fragrant joy.

5. In the cells on the upper floor, too, are painted a

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 274. Angelico's "Crucifixion," however, is the more theological and remote. For this reason it will scarcely commend itself to the modern mind. It is too serene.

[2] See our illustration.

[3] *Christ in Art*, p. 99.

number of scenes from the life of Christ, over a score, with seven different representations of the Crucifixion. They still retain a great measure of "Angelico's peculiar charm." The picture of the "Transfiguration" is a strong piece of work, with a magnificent Christ standing erect, His arms outstretched, His whole figure white, and shining in a radiant glory. This is a beautiful conception and a truly marvellous achievement. It should be compared with Raphael's. Angelico's conception of the "Last Supper" should also be noted. It is in Cell 35. Though, like all Angelico's work, it gives the scene in the garb and form of the Middle Ages, and laughs at our modern archæological and antiquarian frowns, it is a telling representation of the fact, and makes one quick to see the spirit of the Christ who walks among men and gives them of His wine to drink. "I do not know," says Mrs. Jenner, "that the art of picture-making, as it was conceived in the Middle Ages, can go further."[1]

6. In Masolino, a painter who has lately come to his own,[2] the spirit of Angelico, without his depth of religious

[1] *Christ in Art*, p. 102. A lovely predella of "Christ in Glory," from the Dominican Church at Fiesole, may be seen in the National Gallery, London, and a beautiful "Head" in the National Gallery, Edinburgh. An excellent reproduction of the "Transfiguration" may be seen in De Vere's great edition of Vasari's *Lives*, vol. iii. p. 30, and of his lovely "Resurrection" in Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*, p. 224.

[2] Thanks to Berenson and others. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 217–225, especially the footnotes by Mr. Hutton. Born 1383, died 1447. Compare Vasari's remark anent Masolino: "And if perchance it comes to pass that one, while advancing towards perfection in any science or art, is overtaken by death in the happy course of his life, his memory does not become wholly spent, if only he has laboured worthily in order to attain to the true end of his art" (De Vere's edition, vol. ii. p. 165).

feeling, lingered. His work is still the subject of much controversy, however, and his faded frescoes at Castiglione and in the Brancacci divide the critics. To us he is of importance only as the master of Masaccio, who with Fra Angelico divides the honours of the early Renaissance. Baptized with the same name, Tommaso, and born in the same neighbourhood, Masolino and Masaccio were often confused. Though much injustice has resulted to the fame of Masolino, there can be no doubt that Masaccio was the greater genius. Beginning with the manner of Masolino, he gave to it new force, and poured into the work of his day so many new thoughts and new ideas, so much new creative power and life, that he left his mark deep in Florentine art, deep almost as Giotto himself. "Giotto born again," says Berenson, "starting where death had cut short his advance, instantly making his own all that had been gained during his absence, and profiting by the new conditions, the new demands—imagine such an avatar, and you will understand Masaccio."[1] He was one of the young workers of the world, who dreamt his dream and wrought his triumph before most men are awake, leaving the world for ever the better for his presence. He died when only twenty-seven.[2]

7. It is the work of an artist to reveal its ideals to an age, to paint the highest that it sees, and to give them significance and reality. Masaccio had, pre-eminently, power to paint the human figure in such a way as to express the ideals long buried in our lives, unuttered and

[1] *Florentine Painters*, p. 27.

[2] Born 1401, died 1428. He left Florence for Rome, and was never seen or heard of more. Foul play or poison were suspected by some. We have now documents, however, that prove he died in Rome in 1428.

unexpressed. He had skill to give them such reality and significance that one feels he could lay his hand on them and say, This figure or this group precisely reveals the deepest thoughts of my own life, gives material expression to my ideal of the character or the scene. Great in the sense that finds its way with sure hand to the real, and great in the power to render it when he touches it, in genius to give it body, to materialise the ideal, give it flesh and blood, and clothe it so that men may recognise it, this is the abiding glory of Masaccio. Not even Michael Angelo can surpass him here. All this is made abundantly clear in the marvellous fresco of "Adam and Eve" in the Brancacci Chapel. The power with which the ideal is expressed is astounding. They come out of the gates of Eden and stride away from their peace, their hearts broken, and every line of their bodies and their faces, every gesture and movement, telling their shame and grief. You see the story at once, stand beside them, stride away with them, your whole soul captured, your whole life in sympathy. Never, surely, was such power to give to the ideal such tremendous significance and reality.[1]

8. The same power, still further revealed, may be seen in his fresco "The Tribute Money," in the same chapel, a picture pronounced by Vasari to be Masaccio's masterpiece. Masaccio here reveals in the fullest measure his grasp of the maxims which Giotto had immutably declared. But, whilst he thus worthily closes a great period, he opens a new one. One hand unites him to Giotto; the other is

[1] Compare Michael Angelo's and Raphael's "Adam and Eve." Notice especially their angels. See also Masolino's, in the Brancacci. Masaccio's genius divined the laws of motion, foreshortening, atmosphere, perspective.

The Trinity.

*Pesellino.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

The Trinity.

Perugino.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

The Baptism of Christ.

*Verrocchio.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

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The Baptism of Christ.

Verrocchio.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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extended to Raphael.[1] Three separate scenes in perfect harmony and order tell the Tribute story, the chief being placed in the centre. It shows the tax-gatherer urging his claim with dramatic gesture and Peter angrily expostulating with him. The Christ occupies the centre of the group, surrounded by His apostles. Every face is a study in perplexity, variety of thought, and eager wonder. Every eye reveals a different character, and every line of the apostolic brows carries a revelation. But the Christ in the centre is, admittedly, the most arresting figure. With Masaccio, even more than with Fra Angelico, we have a new Christ. The Pontiff Christ, seated on His throne, and far removed from men, the Christ of the mosaics and the basilicas, honoured, as we have seen, even by Giotto himself, now passes, and gives place to this Christ who companions with men, enters into the commonplace cares of life, and transfigures duty by the spell and charm of His thought. Amid the perils and trials of life, a growing tribute is now paid to Christ, that He knows the way, sees a path through the maze, can lead His followers to its sure unfolding, can find a solution for every difficulty, satisfactory alike to reason and conscience, heart and brain, however, at the moment, it may strike our frail humanity, however wonderful, too, it may appear. Masaccio's Christ in "The Tribute Money" reveals this clearly. No wonder the experts are in raptures. "No more grand or majestic air was ever

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 243. Mrs. Ady reckons him the heir of Giotto and the teacher of Raphael. Consider Vasari's true saying regarding Masaccio's advent among the masters of Florence: "It is the custom of Nature, when she makes a man very excellent in any profession, very often not to make him alone, but at the same time, and in the same neighbourhood, to make another to compete with him, to the end that they may assist each other by their talent and emulation" (De Vere's edition, ii. 183).

simulated by a painter than that given to the youthful Redeemer, whose elastic movement as He addresses Peter is nature itself. What character, readiness of action, and intelligence of expression; what firmness of tread and gravity of form; what massive breadth of drapery can be imparted in the best and most varied manner to a series of figures, is here demonstrated."[1] "The finest thing in the picture is the calm and majestic form of Christ, and the quiet authority of His manner, as with outstretched arms He turns to Peter and utters His word of command. Few pictures in Italian art have ever rivalled this conception, and when in his cartoons Raphael had a similar scene to represent, he went back to Masaccio once more for inspiration."[2]

9. Other Christ pictures by Masaccio are the "Adoration of the Magi," now in the Berlin Gallery; a "Madonna and Child" in Florence Academy; a fresco "Madonna and Child" in the Oratorio, Montemarciano; a "Crucifixion" in the Gallery, Naples; and a "Madonna, Child, and Angels" in Newark. Greater than any of these, perhaps, and certainly a marvellous bit of work, was the damaged fresco of the Trinity in S. Maria Novello, now almost past sight. A great artistic triumph, it was praised by Vasari; yet the critic himself accepted a commission to paint a picture in the chapel, and actually painted his own on the top of the masterpiece he had praised! In recent times, Vasari's has been washed away and Masaccio's restored, though in a sadly damaged state. It represents the Eternal, the God and Father of all, supporting a cross on which lies the Crucified Redeemer, above whose head hovers a Dove. "The form

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 243.
[2] Mrs. Ady, in *Painters of Florence*, p. 97

of the Crucified Christ," says Mrs. Ady, "is drawn with all Donatello's skill and science."[1]

10. Two Florentines of some distinction followed Masaccio, partly continuing and partly undoing his work. The first was Paolo Uccello,[2] who, as a boy of ten, wrought with Lorenzo Ghiberti and became a member of the great artistic movement led by Donatello, Brunellesco, Ghiberti, and Masaccio. Uccello came under the spell of perspective, and became so infatuated with it that he painted only to show his own dexterity in his great discovery. He would sit up half the night, and cry, "Oh, how sweet a thing is perspective!" when his wife urged him to come to sleep. "Ah, Paolo, in your passion for perspective, you are forsaking the substance for the shadow!" cried Donatello,[3] and modern critics join in the cry. "Uccello," says Berenson, "was the first representative of two strong tendencies in Florentine painting—of art for dexterity sake, and art for scientific purposes."[4] In spite of this, however, he had undoubtedly great influence, and cannot be passed by. But he had no love for painting Christ, and has left no example of his art consecrated to the Nazarene. It is different with Andrea del Castagno,[5] the other Florentine who followed in the wake of Masaccio. He was a man of great natural force, a turbulent personality with a consciousness of power; and these traits find

[1] Mrs. Ady, in *Painters of Florence*, p. 97. There were many other paintings of this strange subject about this time. Masaccio's may be taken as a good example. The thought of God bearing the Crucified Christ was dear to the mediæval Church.

[2] A.D. 1397–1475.

[3] *Painters of Florence*, pp. 119, 121.

[4] *Florentine Painters*, p. 40.

[5] A.D. 1390–1457. Like Giotto and other painters, he began life as a shepherd-boy.

expression in his works. He had not the genius, however, to make us feel power as Masaccio did, and Michael Angelo later, but condescended, says one truly, to mere strength, as in his "Last Supper," or, worse still, to actual brutality, as in his Santa Maria Nuova "Crucifixion."[1] The "Last Supper" painted for Santa Maria has perished, but the same subject was repeated by Andrea in S. Apollonia. "His types are coarse and unpleasant," says Mrs. Ady, "his colouring hard and crude, but the accuracy of his drawing and the power and reality of his creations are undeniable."[2] With frank realism, he painted the Apostles as rough, coarse peasants, and refrained from any idealistic treatment even when he drew the face of Christ.[3] The "Crucifixion" from S. Maria Nuova is now in the Uffizi[4] Gallery, Florence, and another is in the National Gallery, London. Others may be seen in S. Apollonia, the hospital of the Oblate, and the monastery of the Angeli, Florence. Of the crude "Crucifixion" at the Angeli, now blackened by damp, Crowe and Cavalcaselle say: "It exhibits an excess of vulgarity even in the Saviour, whose frame is almost an anatomical caricature."[5] To such a pass did unbridled realism bring the proud city of Florence, so early in the morning hours. We are much indebted to realism in the history of painting, but fain could wish it had been saved from itself by a deeper sense of beauty.[6]

[1] *Florentine Painters*, p. 41. [2] *Painters of Florence*, p. 126.

[3] This "Last Supper," however, is said to have inspired Leonardo with the first idea of his sublime work (*ibid.* p. 128).

[4] See lovely reproduction in colour by P. G. Konody, *Uffizi Gallery* (Jack, 1912).

[5] *History of Painting in Italy*, Mr. Hutton's edition, ii. 307 and 315.

[6] Other frescoes by Andrea in S. Apollonia are a "Pietà," "Entombment," and "Resurrection." Early this century a fresco of the "Trinity" by Masaccio was discovered in SS. Annunziata.

11. A younger contemporary of these was Domenico Veneziano,[1] one of the finest portrait-painters of the Renaissance. An innovator in technique and in chemistry applied to art mediums, unlike Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno he made no sacrifice to dexterity and naturalism, but had a great sense of the significant and power to express movement and character. Though born in Venice, Domenico caught the spirit of Donatello and Masaccio. A friend of those great art patrons the Medici, he took of their magnificence, painted many works for them, and put into his paintings many portraits of the Medici and other contemporaries. Very few of his works remain. Chief among these is the "Mother and Child" now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. The drawing is clear and vigorous, the technique splendid, and the colouring bright and pleasing. The Mother is seated on a throne, a sweet picture of pure and noble motherhood. On her knee stands the Christ-Child, a simple, natural child, His head turned with interest to the striking figure of John the Baptist. The Baptist points to the Child, looks out of the picture at the spectator, and seems to say, "Behold the Lamb of God." The painting has much of Angelico's charm, though it has not his deep religious feeling. Another "Madonna and Child" by Domenico is now in the National Gallery.[2] The Christ-Child in this lifts His hand in benediction, though otherwise both Mother and Child recall the work in Florence. Above, however, is a picture of the Eternal Father and the Holy Dove, which give much interest to the National Gallery work. A venerable figure, grey-

[1] A.D. 1400–1461.

[2] Originally in fresco in a Florentine tabernacle, then transferred to canvas (1851), and brought to London later.

bearded, kind, the Father breathes love and radiance around; while the White Dove, with wings outspread, hovers over Mother and Child. The work, however, is, on the whole, less pleasing than the Uffizi example by the same hand.

12. Another painter of the Christ-Child was the famous, or infamous, Fra Filippo Lippi.[1] Of his character we have little desire to write, though it is possible his failings have been magnified, as, certainly, they would have received other judgment had he never been a Carmelite friar. A great natural, fond of women, wine, and little children, and fonder still of nature and flowers, he loved his art, and loved to paint beautiful women and children, flowery meadows and lovely buildings. A charming colourist and master of the art of fresco-painting, he has left behind him many beautiful works and many lovely Madonnas. The beautiful Mother adoring the Child-Christ lying in a field of flowers, now in the Academy, Florence, has great charm and much grace and not a little religious feeling. He painted this subject many times. Equally charming and pleasing is his "Mother and Child" in the Uffizi Gallery, with its healthy, robust Babe.[2] More famous, perhaps, is the lovely "Madonna and Child with the Pomegranate," now in the Pitti Gallery, Florence. The Madonna in this is said to have been the fair novice, Lucretia, who afterwards became the painter's wife. The original drawing is in Paris. In the Louvre is another "Madonna and Child" attributed to Lippi, though Crowe and Cavalcaselle put it down to a painter of the school of Uccello and Castagno.[3] Three others are in

[1] A.D. 1406–1469. Compare Browning's poem, "Fra Lippo Lippi."

[2] See lovely reproduction in colour by P. G. Konody in his *Uffizi Gallery* (Jack, 1912).

[3] See their book, ii. 133.

Berlin, including the famous "Madonna della Misericordia." In Prato he painted many frescoes of great power and magnificence, and death overtook him while engaged on a series in the choir of Spoleto Cathedral. The Prato frescoes were much admired by Michael Angelo. The Spoleto series contains the great "Coronation of the Virgin," which made Vasari exclaim, "What a beautiful thing! Truly, the friar was a great man!" It pictures a gorgeous heaven, with hosts of lovely angels singing and dancing, scattering flowers, and swinging censers in the air. There is none of the blessed peace and repose of Angelico's Paradise, as Mrs. Ady truly declares.[1] Lippo prefers gaiety and movement, light and joy. Christ in the clouds receiving the soul of His mother, in the "Death of the Virgin," may be seen in the same church. A man of many faults, Fra Lippo has been forgiven much. A painter of fair women and sweet children, he has endeared himself to many, and enriched the world with many a beautiful picture of holy motherhood.[2]

13. Filippino Lippi,[3] his son by the fair nun of Prato, likewise painted many beautiful Madonnas, with a Christ-Child of great simplicity and charm—a real, natural, winning Child. To look at the Madonna and Child with a choir of baby angels in a golden sky, now in the shrine of S. Margherita, Prato, is a joy for ever.[4] Taught by his father, Fra Filippo Lippi, and afterwards by Botticelli, Filippino painted many pictures of the Annunciation, Nativity, and

[1] *Painters of Florence*, p. 154.

[2] He has many beautiful architectural backgrounds full of interest and worthy of close study.

[3] A.D. 1457–1504.

[4] See also the Madonnas in the Uffizi (beautifully illustrated in colour by Paul G. Konody in *The Uffizi Gallery*, Jack, 1912), and in the altarpiece of the Cappella Nerli in S. Spirito, Florence, and in the National Gallery, London.

of the Child in the arms of His mother, but few pictures of the Life or Ministry of Jesus. This, however, is characteristic of much of the painting of Veneziano, the Lippis, and others: they are more concerned with the Mother and Child, the beginning of the great Life, and with the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the end of the journey, than with the facts of the Gospels and the stories of His manhood. Filippino died while painting the "Deposition" now in the Academy, Florence, begun by Leonardo and completed, it is said, by Perugino. Berenson ascribes to him also a "Deposition" now in the Berlin Gallery, No. 98. In that Gallery, too, is an injured picture of "Christ on the Cross," which Dr. Bode and Mr. Berenson both agree is Filippino's. In the Seminario, Venice, are two very charming panels, "Christ at the Well" and "Noli me Tangere."

14. Francesco Pesellino, the friend of Fra Filippo, was a great animal painter, but, like the erring Fra, was fond also of the Madonna, and has left us several examples of his art in painting women and children.[1] More to our purpose is the work done by him in painting the "Dead Christ," good work, worthy of great praise. He has a "Dead Christ" in the Louvre and in Milan, excellent in many ways, and in his "Trinity," now in the National Gallery, London, there is a beautiful painting of Christ on the Cross, His body, almost nude, drawn with great accuracy and much religious feeling.[2] Not a soul is at the foot of the Cross, though in front are the lonely fields and behind the quiet hills; but above is a majestic picture of the Father with a number of cherubic children in the folds

[1] Now in Berlin, Chantilly, Florence, Dorchester House, and Richmond. He was born A.D. 1422, died 1457.

[2] See our illustration.

of His garment, and the White Dove, with wings outspread, hovering over the Dead Christ. It is an impressive, reverent piece of work, imaginative and poetic to be sure, but not without the sanctions of the human heart, and not without power to hallow and sweeten our thoughts of the Saviour.

15. Though Alessio Baldovinetti[1] takes a good place in art history, he has left little of interest to us here except his delightful "Mother and Child," now in the Louvre, a sweet and lovely Mother, and a simple, pleasing Child. This is one of the most charming representations of this theme we know. His contemporary and superior, Antonio Pollaiuolo,[2] left a deep mark on the art of the fifteenth century, and is pronounced by his first and only modern biographer "the greatest scientific master of Italian art."[3] A great draughtsman and goldsmith, and a master of the art of painting movement, his works had much influence, yet he has left little illustrating our subject. Like Donatello before him, he gave a new style to many of the painters of the day, but did his own best work in other realms. Of another goldsmith and sculptor, Andrea Verrocchio,[4] this also may be said, that he had great influence, right on to Leonardo and Luini, but, unlike Pollaiuolo, he has given us one painting of the Christ of great interest. This is his "Baptism," now in the Academy, Florence. A

[1] A.D. 1427–1499. [2] A.D. 1431–1498.

[3] See Maud Cruttwell's excellent monograph, *Antonio Pollaiuolo* (1907), p. 27. With Verrocchio he expounded the "new gospel of art delivered by Donatello." Compare Vasari's remark anent the Pollaiuoli: "Many men begin in a humble spirit with unimportant works, who, gaining courage from proficiency, grow also in power and ability, in such a manner that they aspire to greater undertakings, and almost reach heaven with their beautiful thoughts" (De Vere's edition, iii. 237).

[4] A.D. 1435–1488. See Maud Cruttwell's *Verrocchio* (1904). He is a great scientific, muscular artist.

master of landscape-painting as well as figure-painting, Verrocchio has put the Baptism in a setting of lovely scenery.[1] The two women kneeling on the left bank are not only beautiful as the landscape, but are beautifully painted,[2] and are in pleasing contrast to the strong, stern figure of the great Baptizer. The central figure of the Christ, however, is of supreme importance. The face is unlike any other Florentine's, and is a break with the traditional likeness of the past. The form is not perfect or in true proportion. The muscles of arms and legs are very prominent, and the face and body somewhat puffy and angular, yet it is strikingly original and arresting. This is certainly, and in many ways, "a picture of calm and composure, of reverent and tender worship, which carries with it a special charm."[3] Verrocchio has also a number of Madonnas, though Miss Cruttwell and Mr. Berenson differ about the Berlin Madonna, and Morelli gives the Dresden Madonna to Lorenzo di Credi. A Madonna in our National Gallery attributed to the Tuscan School is assigned (doubtfully) by Berenson to Verrocchio.

16. Benozzo Gozzoli,[4] the friend and follower of Angelico, had not the good friar's soul, or his sight of heaven, or sense of spiritual beauty. A Fra Angelico who had "forgotten heaven and become enamoured of the

[1] "Verrocchio was, among Florentines at least, the first to feel that a faithful reproduction of the contours is not landscape, that the painting of nature is an art distinct from the painting of the figure" (Berenson's *Florentine Painters*, p. 59).

[2] Some critics incline to think they are by Leonardo.

[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 394. Compare Franceschi's and Giotto's "Baptism" with Verrocchio's.

[4] A.D. 1420–1498. See the "Road to Calvary" of Benozzo's School in the National Gallery, Edinburgh.

earth and the springtime,"[1] he painted many beautiful frescoes in the spring of his life; but winter came early to him, and his later work is bitten with the frost of "non-significant detail, and positive bad taste."[2] At Montefalco he painted the "Assumption," now in the Lateran, and later, in the chapel of the Medici, Florence, his "Adoration of the Magi," a gorgeous treatment of this favourite Florentine theme, carefully and marvellously painted, with many portraits of his own time, much pomp and earthly splendour. Flowers and pines, pomegranates and peacocks, angel choirs and gallant knights, luxurious dress and prancing steeds, all are made to pay their tribute to the Little Babe of Wonder.[3] The "Madonna and Saints," now in the National Gallery, was painted for the Confraternity of S. Marco, after the style of Angelico's Madonna in the neighbouring Dominican church, and may be taken as an excellent example of Benozzo's work. The artist worked at great speed, and painted numberless frescoes on Old and New Testament themes. His Madonnas may be found in almost every city. He painted, also, many of the incidents of the last days of Christ, including the Crucifixion and Deposition many times. He left a deep mark on the Umbrian School.[4]

17. Benozzo's influence, too, may be seen in the minor Florentine, Cosimo Rosselli,[5] a fluent painter of frescoes, some of whose work may be studied in London, Berlin, and Edinburgh. He painted many Madonnas, though more to

[1] Berenson's characterisation in his *Florentine Painters*, p. 62.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 63.

[3] Compare with Botticelli's treatment of this theme, now in the Uffizi Gallery. See also Leonardo's.

[4] Consult Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 472 ff.

[5] A.D. 1439–1507. He was a better teacher than painter.

our purpose is his "Last Supper" in the Sistine Chapel, a fresco with much expressive painting that repays sympathetic study in detail. Better still is his Christ in the companion fresco with the subject of the "Sermon on the Mount." The Christ, standing on the mount, His hand uplifted, preaching to a crowd of listeners, is a dignified, noble bit of work. This fresco, however, has the touch of Rosselli's favourite pupil upon it, Piero di Cosimo, a far more refined and imaginative artist.[1] Another of his pupils was Fra Bartolommeo, of whom we shall have something to say later.[2]

18. If to paint a pretty picture be the crown of art, then to Domenico Ghirlandajo[3] of all the Florentines must the crown be offered. Yet, say the critics, he had not a spark of genius, only some science and cunning, talent and industry, and a light-hearted love of the beautiful. "Bright colour, pretty faces, good likenesses, and the obvious everywhere—attractive and delightful, it must be granted, but, except in certain single figures, never significant," says Berenson.[4] The "pre-eminently popular painter" of his day, scoffs Mrs. Jenner, "he painted large, easily understood pictures, filled with the men and women of everyone's acquaintance, richly dressed, charmingly posed, much at ease with themselves and the public."[5] Still popular and still pleasing to "the inferior person," it is not enough to say he was "a painter of great gifts" and charm, for he was a master of whom it may be truly said, "His strongly tempered mind, braced with a nerve equal to that of Michael Angelo, was above the artifices of

[1] See Mrs. Ady's *Painters of Florence*, p. 179.

[2] See pp. 178–180. See Rosselli's excellent "Christ Healing the Leper," from the Sistine, in De Vere's *Vasari*, iii. 190.

[3] A.D. 1449–1494.

[4] *Florentine Painters*, p. 64.

[5] *Christ in Art*, p. 109.

colour."[1] A strong man in every way, and lifted with his calling, he may fail in the quest of the highest, but certainly he strove to reach it. The recently discovered "Madonna" on the walls of Ognissanti, Florence, and the "Last Supper" in the refectory there, mark the beginnings of Ghirlandajo's masculine genius. The grouping and expression on the faces of many of the Apostles in the latter takes the mind to Leonardo's masterpiece.[2] The Madonnas in the Palazzo Vecchio, Academy, Uffizi, and Innocenti, Florence, are beautiful in conception and grace, and mark another step in the unfolding of his powers.[3] But the picture which interests us most is his "Call of S. Peter," in the Sistine Chapel, a fresco of marvellous power. Lacking in the finer sense of colour though he be, and over-fond of large and spacious backgrounds, Ghirlandajo gives us here a great picture, with well-drawn groups, and a noble, arresting Christ. In grandeur of conception, as well as attitude and form, this Christ recalls Masaccio's "Tribute Money." He is a calm, majestic, dignified Teacher and Leader of men, with such quiet strength and sure reserve that one is drawn to Him and ready to give up all and follow in His steps. The Florentine groups on either hand, and the obtrusive, though beautiful, scene behind, mar

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 441. Without making any fresh discoveries, he garnered all the harvest of the years and conduced to the perfection of the masculine art of Florence. Compare, also, Vasari's *Lives*, De Vere's edition, iii. 219. Tommaso, he tells us, was the first to invent those ornaments worn on the head by the girls of Florence called ghirlande or garlands, hence his name Ghirlandajo.

[2] Ghirlandajo repeated this fresco in the Convent of San Marco, Florence.

[3] He painted many other Madonnas. See the coloured reproduction of his "Adoration" in the Uffizi in Mr. Konody's book *The Uffizi Gallery* (Jack, 1912).

the effectiveness of the exposition, yet fail to rob the Central Figure of His charm. To shut them out and look on Him alone is good alike for heart and eye.

19. If Ghirlandajo be a cause of strife between the critics and the crowd, his great contemporary Botticelli[1] divides the critics themselves, being to some a name to worship, to others a source of confusion and disagreement. The pupil of Fra Filippo, he has more depth and sweep of thought and feeling than the merry-hearted friar. A soul gifted with the vision of the significant, he scorns the obvious, passes by acknowledged types, chooses freely his own faces, his own lives, his own way, and, with startling originality and passion, represents the life and thought of the work in hand. Tingling with feeling to the finger-tips, and carried headlong in joyous quest of his thought, he gives life and movement to every line in such a way that men cannot but feel deeply as they look at his work, and be divided. If you love a fair and spacious background, go to Ghirlandajo: Botticelli feels it hinders his presentation of the things that count, and will give you little of it. If you love beautiful colour, go to Fra Filippo or Domenico Veneziano: Botticelli feels that even that must be suppressed for the sake of the lineal development of his thought. At all costs he becomes a great master in the art of lineal expression, and breaks from the common speech of the crowd into rhythmic song. "In this art of arts," sings Berenson, "Sandro Botticelli may have had rivals in Japan and elsewhere in the East, but in Europe never. To its demands he was ready to sacrifice everything that habits acquired under Filippo and Pollaiuolo—and his employers!—would permit. The representative

[1] A.D. 1444–1510.

element was for him a mere *libretto*: he was happiest when his subject lent itself to translation into what may be called a lineal symphony. And to this symphony everything was made to yield."[1] To all this, it must be added, Botticelli had the poet's great gift, imagination, and feeling as strong and human as Fra Filippo's, as spiritual and mystical as Fra Angelico's. For many moderns, Botticelli is the most fascinating painter of the Italian Renaissance. Others are repelled by his "fantastic exuberance."[2]

20. Like every good man of his time, Botticelli was fondly drawn to the Madonna and Child, and has left behind him many Madonnas of great charm.[3] "Nowhere in art," says one, "does such heart-rending anguish dwell as in the eyes of his lovely Madonnas and exquisite angels. The shadow of the sword which should pierce Mary's breast is ever present; never once does she even smile at the caresses of her Child." These sad-eyed, lovely Mothers and quietly happy Child-Christs may be seen in many Galleries. The saddest of all, perhaps, is in the National Gallery, London, and bears the mark of Fra Filippo's mind.[4] "The most deeply spiritual vision of the Nativity ever painted," thinks Mrs. Jenner. "It not only illustrates the stable of Bethlehem, but the results of Christ being made man, in heaven, on the earth, and below the earth."[5] In

[1] *Florentine Painters*, p. 74.

[2] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 400.

[3] See *Life and Art of Sandro Botticelli*, by Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady), 1904, with many illustrations of his Madonnas. See also her lovely reproductions in *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*.

[4] It was long ascribed to Filippino, but is really one of Botticelli's last pictures. Painted after the death of Savonarola.

[5] *Christ in Art*, p. 107. This is a mystical and allegorical picture of great power. Compare Mrs. Ady, p. 212.

the Uffizi, Florence, are the later and more distinctive works of Botticelli, the great and beautiful "Madonna of the Magnificat," and the equally famous and almost equally beautiful "Madonna of the Pomegranate." The former was painted in Rome, and is a picture of profound and haunting beauty.[1] The latter was painted later, and is haunted with the sweet and wistful sadness of Botticelli's heart. What has been called "the eternal enigma of his Madonna type, that seems to be hovering between sensuousness and spirituality,"[2] may be studied here. Rich in colour and harmonious in design, these pictures are full of spiritual beauty and hallowing power.

21. Passing by Botticelli's other Madonnas,[3] and merely noting his famous Adorations of the Magi in our National Gallery, and in Florence and St. Petersburg,[4] we linger for a moment by that crowded picture, "The Adoration of Christ as King of Florence," now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. It represents the period in which Botticelli came under the spell of Savonarola, and sought to paint that marvellous event in world-history when a nation, under the power of a great preacher, acknowledged the kingship of Christ for one brief hour, and set up on earth a City of God.

[1] See Mr. Konody's excellent critique and reproduction in colour in his *Uffizi Gallery* (Jack, 1912).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 73.

[3] In Florence, Milan, Berlin, and Boston. In Boston (Mrs. J. L. Gardner's collection) is the Madonna with angel offering ears of wheat to Christ.

[4] The St. Petersburg "Adoration" is "a gem of the purest water," says Mrs. Ady. Compare these with Ghirlandajo's "Adoration." One of the "Adorations" in our National Gallery is Botticelli's earliest extant work, No. 592. Of the great Florentine "Adoration," Vasari says: "Truly a most admirable work, and executed so beautifully, whether in colouring, drawing, or composition, that every craftsman at the present day stands in a marvel thereat" (De Vere's edition, iii. 250).

Lamentation over Dead Christ.

*Botticelli.*

*Photograph by Hanfstaengl.*

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Lamentation over Dead Christ.

Botticelli.

Photograph by Hanfstaengl.

The Resurrection of Christ.

*Piero Dei Franceschi.*

*Photograph by Alinari.*

*Page* 132.

The Resurrection of Christ.

Piero Dei Franceschi.

Photograph by Alinari.

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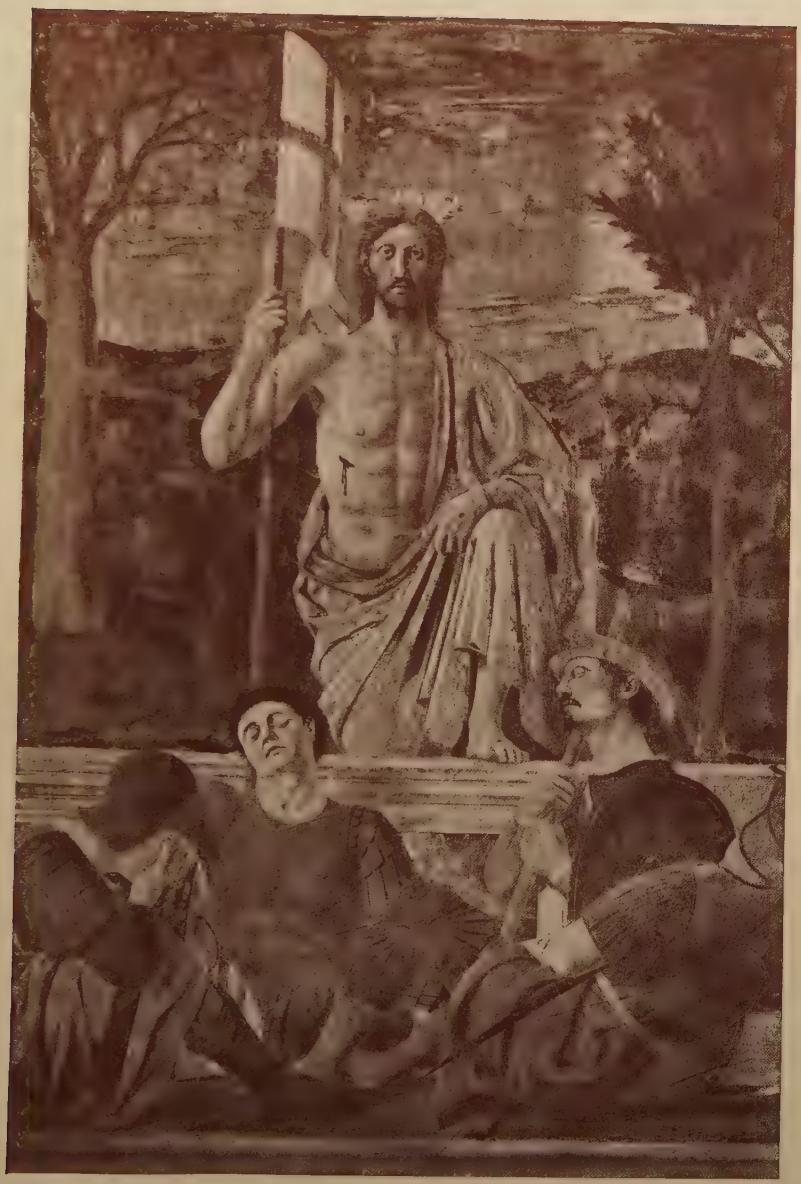

The Crucifixion of Christ.

*Perugino.*

*Photograph by Alinari.*

*Page* 138.

The Crucifixion of Christ.

Perugino.

Photograph by Alinari.

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The picture, coarsely repainted though it be, is of great interest, and presents us with portraits of the seven Magistrates of Florence kneeling before the Mother and Child; of Savonarola standing by; of Lorenzo de Medici urged by the Dominican friar to hail the Christ as King of Florence; of Leonardo in the midst of his brilliant career; Benivieni, a favourite poet of the time; and many others on foot and horse. Never was a more soul-stirring episode in any nation's life, and never, surely, a more disappointing close.

22. That Botticelli was fired by the passion of Savonarola this picture abundantly proves, while his heart-breaking "Calumny" and our National Gallery "Nativity" clearly show the sadness that fell on the painter's life when the great preacher met his tragic fate. A strain of mystic sadness, however, ran through much of his earlier work, as well as sweet repose and conquering joyousness through some of his later. The joy of his "Coronation of the Virgin," now in the Academy, Florence, is quite as marked as in his "Birth of Venus" or "Spring." The underlying sadness, however, finds its way into three great pictures which Botticelli painted: the "Temptation of Christ" in the Sistine Chapel, the "Dead Christ" in the Academy, Florence, and the "Lamentation over the Body of Christ" in the Munich Gallery.[1] The "Temptation" contains many fine portraits and groups, and is considered one of the finest pictures Botticelli ever painted. The Christ-face is drawn with fine sympathy, and shows a great and tender wistfulness as well as a deep and moving sadness. The picture should be studied in detail: some of the groups are more than beautiful.

[1] This is omitted from Berenson's list, though recognised by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and others. See our illustration.

23. The power of Botticelli to paint heart-breaking sorrow, as in that exquisite picture "The Outcast,"[1] is seen to the point of anguish in his "Dead Christ" of Florence and in his "Lamentation over the Body of Christ" in Munich. The triumphant joy of Fra Angelico does not enter here, or one ray of light or hope fall on the dead face. Christ is dead, truly dead; and is painted as if He would never rise again, never bring one hour of comfort to those heart-broken women again. In their great love they gather round Him, in their great grief seek to lift Him and bear Him to the tomb. Mary the Mother, fainting, clings to Him with her arms and knees. Mary of Magdala holds Him in her strong love. Two other women, one at the head, the other at the feet, pour out their kisses and their grief. "It is," says a woman, "the utmost expression in art of women's impotent heartbreak."[2] The Christ-figure, cold, lifeless, limp, stricken with all the helplessness of death, and pitiable to see, is yet beautiful, a fair and Greek-like Christ.[3] Notice that He is beardless, and that His features are quite different from the Christ of Botticelli's "Temptation."

24. In Padua, Squarcione kept the fire burning and was distinguished as an art teacher. Andrea Mantegna was one of the most famous of his pupils and calls for some attention.[4] Like so many others of his day, he painted many Madonnas,[5] but the tragedy of the last days

[1] Collection of Prince Pallavicini, Rome.

[2] Mrs. Jenner, p. 108.

[3] Compare this with M. Angelo's "Dead Christ."

[4] A.D. 1431–1506.

[5] See his "Madonna with S. John and Mary Magdalene," in National Gallery, London; "Madonna of Victory," in the Louvre, Paris; "Madonna of the Quarries," Uffizi, Florence; and a very charming Madonna reproduced in Maud Crutwell's *Mantegna*, plate 40.

called him as well as the joy of the Mother and Child. In our National Gallery, London, there is a wood panel[1] with "Gethsemane" painted thereon, a typical bit of Mantegna's work. In the Louvre there is a "Crucifixion" on wood, being part of the altarpiece of S. Zeno, Verona, brought to Paris by Napoleon in 1797; while at Tours another part of the same altarpiece may be seen with "Gethsemane" and "The Resurrection" painted for us. In the Uffizi there is also a painting of the "Ascension." But most famous of all and most painful of all is Mantegna's "Dead Christ" bewailed by the Maries, now in the Brera, Milan. It was found in his studio at his death, and is regarded as an astonishing realistic achievement, of great scientific interest, and as a "study" beyond praise. But it is "madman's work," as Ruskin calls it, and beyond doubt far from pleasing even as a painting of the "Dead Christ."[2]

25. Though little by Domenico Veneziano remains, he was a craftsman of much influence, and had for his pupil the great Umbrian painter Piero dei Franceschi, "an artist enjoying a happy conjunction of the talents which adorned the Van Eycks and Leonardo da Vinci."[3] A painter of deep thought and penetration, Piero shows much originality in his conception of Christ and laughs at the charge of realism. In our National Gallery his picture of the "Baptism of Christ," with its impressive, resigned,

[1] 2 ft. × 2 ft. 7 in.

[2] See reproduction in Maud Crutwell's monograph, p. 98. See Ruskin's noble tirade against this sort of work, vol. xxii. 482–483.

[3] *History of Painting in Italy*, iii. 2. He is reckoned the best painter of the nude of his time, and is compared favourably with Masaccio and Ghirlandajo here.

and almost nude Figure, abundantly proves this.[1] There is something in this picture, in the Central Figure especially, which, despite its colour abrasion, gives it a place apart in its treatment of this theme. Still more so does this apply to Piero's "Christ of the Resurrection," now in the Municipio, Borgo San Sepolchro, twenty miles from Arezzo. Striking in its realism and marvellous in its drawing, it represents the Christ standing erect in the centre, His winding-sheet falling from His shoulder, a flag of victory in His hand, and His sunken, swollen eyes looking straight at us with solemn pleading.[2] In the foreground are four sleeping soldiers, and in the background a broken landscape with trees outstanding, a favourite feature of Piero's landscapes. In the Compagna della Misericordia, of the same town, Piero painted an altar-piece with pictures of the "Flagellation," "Christ's Burial," "Christ in the Garden," the "Noli me Tangere," etc. The first subject he repeated later, in Urbino, in a work of great power, one of the most finished works he ever painted.[3] Naked, and made fast to a pillar crowned with an idol, Jesus receives His stripes, a Christ of lonely splendour and appalling power. The figure of Pilate is seen at a distance, in his chair of state, under a beautiful porch—a bold stroke, a telling contrast. The background of broken ground, houses, trees, and sky is in the style of Piero's other works. Whatever one may think of these realistic

[1] From Borgo S. Sepolchro. [2] See our illustration.

[3] See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 16–17. Compare Vasari's saying regarding Fra Luca's attempt to rob the dead Piero of his honours: "Truly unhappy are those who, labouring at their studies in order to benefit others and to make their own name famous, are hindered by infirmity and sometimes by death from carrying to perfection the works that they have begun" (De Vere's edition, iii. 17).

paintings of Christ from the hand of the great Umbrian, there can be no doubt of their marvellous and accurate drawing, of their wonderful perspective and their commanding power. They are as strong as they are original, and one comes back to them as to a new thought that scarce is pleasing yet compels one to consider it again. Piero's realistic Christ scarcely charms us like Angelico's ideal Lord, but He compels us to think of the waters through which He passed, the stripes He endured, and the power of His resurrection waking.

26. Piero had two distinguished pupils, Melozzo who had consuming fire, and Signorelli, a man of deep and subtle force destined to influence a greater still, Pietro Perugino. Melozzo gave us one Christ only,[1] but Luca Signorelli[2] has given us many. A great painter of the nude, and a forerunner of Michael Angelo here, he was specially drawn to paint Christ so, and seems more concerned with flesh, bone, and muscle than with the spirit of his theme. Witness his "Flagellation" in the Brera Gallery, Milan, and compare it with Piero's. Look, also, at his "Dead Christ" in Cortona: the angels are beautiful, the Dead terrible; and study the "Christ Crucified" on the banner of S. Spirito, in Raphael's own romantic town, Urbino.[3] The "Dies Iræ," in Orvieto, is a powerful, dramatic bit of work, and won the admiration of Michael Angelo, who reproduced part of it in the Sistine Chapel

[1] "Christ Ascending," fragment of frescoes, once in the cupola of Santa Apostoli, now in the Quirinal, Rome.

[2] A.D. 1441–1523. See Maud Crutwell's monograph on Signorelli with illustrations, pp. 10, 32, 36, 54, 62, 92, 100, 111.

[3] Signorelli painted, also, many Madonnas and Holy Families. See especially those in the Uffizi, Florence, Rome (very beautiful), and National Gallery, London.

later. Here the Dead Christ, though muscular, is not lacking in feeling or strength. Indeed, Morelli considers these frescoes unequalled in the art of the fifteenth century. "To no other contemporary painter," he writes, "was it given to endow the human frame with a like degree of passion, vehemence, and strength."[1]

27. It is given to some to teach and see their scholars outrun them in the race before the sun has reached the west. To Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, the teacher of Pintoricchio and Perugino, came this fate. In the morning he painted well, but before it was evening his hand had grown cold. The works of his splendid dawn are praised highly by Berenson, such as the "Nativity" in Perugia and the "Annunciation" decorating the Portiuncula, the first haunt of the blessed S. Francis.[2] But he was soon outdistanced by the brilliant promise of his pupil Bernardo Pintoricchio,[3] the partner of Perugino and friend of Signorelli, a painter of brilliant promise though not of brilliant achievement. Loving prettiness more than form, and splendid costumes more than movement, and romantic surroundings more than the ideal, his brilliant promise went out with the tides of popularity and sank under the weight of gold.[4] Part only of the frescoes in the Borgia are from his hand, the rest the work of numerous assistants[5] and renovators, the "Assumption" in great part, "Annunciation" in great part, "Nativity" and "Resurrection" small part only. His gay and

[1] *Italian Painters*, p. 92. See, also, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 74. See his extraordinary painting, "The Resurrection of the Body," in the Cathedral of Orvieto.

[2] *Central Italian Painters*, p. 90. [3] A.D. 1454–1513.

[4] *Central Italian Painters*, p. 92. Compare, also, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 270–271.

[5] Raphael worked with Pintoricchio, at Siena, in the Piccolomini Library.

gaudy hues may be seen in his masterpiece, the "Virgin, Child, and Baptist," in the Perugia Gallery, and in his "Madonna" in the Duomo of Sanseverino.[1] More to our purpose, however, is his pleasing "Christ among the Doctors," in the Baglioni Chapel, Spello. In the centre of a fine group of figures is the young Christ disputing with the doctors, the books of the learned strewn on the ground. To the right is a fair picture of the Mother seeking her lost Boy. The courtyard and background suggest the influence of Perugino, and the form of the lovely Mother the spell of Signorelli. Though little drawn to paint Christ the Man, Pintoricchio has a fine panel "Christ on the Way to Calvary," in Milan, and a ruined fresco, the "Dead Christ," in Spoleto. The Milan miniature is considered equal to the best work of the master in richness of colour and power. Christ is shown carrying His Cross, a man in front helping Him by drawing it forward with a cord, the executioner pushing Him from behind. The Christ is a noble figure and has been drawn with carefulness. He turns pitying eyes on His mother and the Maries as they follow Him to His doom.[2]

28. With Pietro Vannucci, better known as Perugino,[3] the master of Raphael and joy of Umbria, we come to an artist who has much of the sweet repose of Fra Angelico and was able to take his place beside any of the Florentine painters of the early Renaissance. In touch with the spirit of the great Saint of Assisi, but without his vision, it was the destiny of Pietro to make Perugia the joy of the world,

[1] Pintoricchio painted many other pictures of the Childhood. See his "Madonna and Child" in the National Gallery, London.

[2] Compare Mrs. Jenner's description of this poetic rendering of the theme. The Spoleto fresco is in the Duomo.

[3] A.D. 1446–1524. An old man, he outran Leonardo full five years.

and Umbria the Galilee of painters. "The great charm of his pictures," writes one, "is their stillness. The angels hymn their praises in an unclouded sky; the silver waters glide through the restful valleys waveless and quiet; no noise or rude alarm breaks in upon the ear; the trees stand motionless as if in prayer; the very fields appear conscious of God; while the hills, steeped in peace, seem to bow their heads in adoration."[1] To stillness in Perugino must be added spaciousness and a sense of the joy of God's world, a deep joy in the beauty and peace of Nature and in the golden light of God. "The sunlight in Perugino's pictures," says Mrs. Jenner truly, "bathes the spectator with a warmth that lifts the imagination to celestial light."[2] The pupil of Piero Fierenzo and Verrocchio, the friend and competitor of Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and others, he has been named with the same breath as Leonardo, and is recognised as an influence not only among the Umbrian hills but among the great of Florence. A great master of space-composition, his early paintings especially produce deep pleasure. An atheist and a villain, he has given us many pictures profoundly religious, and left the world wondering how he could paint so finely and live so badly.[3]

29. The qualities of Perugino's painting may be studied in the fresco on the walls of the Sistine, "Christ giving the keys to Peter." With some defects of drawing, it is yet

[1] *The Christ Face in Art*, p. 24, by the Rev. James Burns.

[2] *Christ in Art*, p. 111. Compare, also, *Perugino*, by Edward Hutton (1907), p. 30 and pp. 195–200. The light and beauty of Nature in Perugino are more sincere than his beautiful vision of the Madonna, *e.g.* his National Gallery Madonna.

[3] See Berenson's *Central Italian Painters*, p. 103. Compare Edward Hutton's *Perugino*, p. 195.

one of the most delightful pictures in the chapel. The golden, joyous colour, as Berenson says, the fine rhythm of the groups, and above all the buoyant spaciousness of the fresco, win and hold us.[1] Still more may his power be seen in the "Dead Christ" now in the Pitti Gallery. The stillness and reserve of Perugino are evident in every figure. There is no frenzy of sorrow, no bewilderment of pain. "A sigh inaudible, a look of yearning, and that is all."[2] The Dead Christ lies on His mother's knee, serene and quiet in death, flexible and calm, as if asleep. The stricken Mother is able to bear Him in her love, and is no longer fainting or dashed with tears, as in many other paintings of the theme.[3] In the Pitti Gallery, also, is "The Agony in the Garden," in which there is a noble painting of the Christ in prayer, with the three disciples sleeping in front, and a spacious background in which is made clear the crowd coming out to take Him. The face of the Christ is finely drawn, and the serenity that filled the heart of Perugino is over all. There is no "agony": an angel wings to Him the cup; and the Christ is calm, a picture of quiet, trustful, triumphant confidence. The Father has not forsaken Him.

30. Even in his "Crucifixions," Perugino is able to convey the sense of repose and to touch our religious emotions with his quiet reserve and spacious scenes. Seldom, surely, does Nature play so soothing a part in any picture of the Passion, or contribute so deep a religious emotion, or give one the revelation of its power to back the triumph of the Cross, as in Perugino's masterpiece

[1] See Berenson's *Central Italian Painters*, p. 108.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 105.
[3] See, also, his Pietà of S. Chiara, and many others.

in the chapter-house of S. Maria Madalena, Florence.[1] A beautiful bit of painting it is, and a lovely scene, but the thing that beats its way home is the harmony of the whole picture and the power with which a spacious background, a bit of Nature, may supplement the message of the Christ and contribute to the joy of the painter's triumph. Right in front, on a huge Cross, hangs the Christ, the last agony past. The weight of the body does not drag on the nails, or its condition suggest impoverishment or pain. Nude, save for a cloth round the loins, the form is beautiful even in death, and the face peaceful in sleep. He does not so much hang as lie in triumph on His Cross. Still in death, and past all sorrow, this great Christ of Perugino moves us deeply. By the side of the Cross kneels the Magdalene, her face uplifted, her eyes filled, not with tears, but reverent worship, and her hands folded in quiet prayer. Two other figures, on either hand, alone are painted. There are no crowds, no priests, no soldiers, none but those who love Him, gathered round His Cross. And, behind all, that lovely scene, kissed with the peace of God and bathed in the hush and glow of a sun that has set. Can it be wondered, asks Berenson, that men, women, and children ran to see it? Nor yet, he adds, is life so free from sordid cares and meaningless broils that we can forego such balm for the soul as Perugino brings.[2] Soothing and refreshing this great

[1] See our illustration. See a similar "Crucifixion" by Perugino in one of the panels of his altarpiece in the Villa Albani, and compare it with Fra Bartolommeo's.

[2] *Central Italian Painters*, p. 105. Edward Hutton says Perugino loved the earth as no other Italian painter dared to love it, and thus became the first painter of landscape. And even when the Cross is painted by him, the landscape, filled with beauty, calls for his love and ours. In the shadow God walks in His garden still. See *Perugino*, pp. 197–198.

picture is, and full of radiant peace and spiritual feeling. To look on it is to feel that all is well, and be sure that a boundless quietening Love gathers round the Cross. It is no tragedy, no enigma. The soul is able to look up, with Magdalene, and pray; to stand by, with Mary His mother, and see that Death holds her victories too, as well as Life. He is no beaten, discredited Nazarene who lies on that Cross, and no crucified, wasted Lord, but One who loved with deathless love and is loved in turn, a Christ who is able to still life's sorrows, fold our hands in prayer, and fill our eyes with deathless hope. The redeeming love of the Cross and the hallowing power of death were never better painted than in this "Crucifixion" of the villainous Perugino. It is still as eventide, and one can almost hear the beat of the heart in prayer, as one kneels beside the Magdalene, and lifts one's life in silent adoration. It is evening; but a thrush is singing on the tree; and it will soon be morning.[1]

31. Of Lo Spagna,[2] the pupil of Perugino and companion of Raphael, we have little to say. A Spaniard by birth, he is purely Italian in art, and is content to follow in the wake of Perugino and Raphael. A link connecting these two great men, their influence may be studied in his Raphaelesque "Christ crowned with Thorns carrying His Cross," lately in Stafford House, and in his "Christ on the Mount," now in the National Gallery, London, a picture credited to Raphael but really an imitation by

[1] Many other pictures Perugino painted, pictures of the Nativity, Childhood, Baptism, Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus, but never one more powerful than this "Crucifixion" in S. Maria Madalena, Florence. See his Madonnas and "Nativity" and "Baptism" in the National Gallery, London.

[2] Giovanni di Pietro, commonly called Lo Spagna.

Lo Spagna of Perugino's treatment of the same theme.[1] Beside many other pictures by this zealous imitator, there is a "Dead Christ" in a chapel at Trevi, and a "Coronation," "Crucifixion," and "Eternal" at La Magliana. The "Eternal" is drawn by Raphael and painted by Lo Spagna. It is a noble thought of God, and a fine tribute to the Christ who died upon the Tree.

So did the Dawn give place to the Morning Hours, and the sons of the morning fill the land with pictures of the Christ. Yet visions fairer far were still to come, to the men of the Golden Noon.

[1] His "Agony in the Garden," Florence.

CHAPTER SIX

# THE CHRIST OF THE GOLDEN NOON: GREAT ITALIAN MASTERS

## SYNOPSIS

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# CHAPTER SIX THE CHRIST OF THE GOLDEN NOON: GREAT ITALIAN MASTERS

WITH Leonardo da Vinci we come to the golden hour of Italian painting.[1] His name is one of the best loved in the world's art, and stirs the critics to highest praise. "Nothing that he touched," says Berenson, "but turned into a thing of eternal beauty."[2] The illegitimate son of a notary of Vinci, near Florence, and of a peasant girl, he was endowed, says Konody, "with the most perfect physical and intellectual gifts that were perhaps ever united in a single human being."[3] Painter, sculptor, musician, poet, scientist, and man of affairs, at one single bound almost he attained the skill of Giotto and Masaccio, Fra Angelico and Filippo, Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio, and surpassed them easily.[4] "The richest gifts of heaven," says Vasari, "are sometimes showered upon the same person, and beauty, grace, and genius are combined in so rare a manner in one man, that to whatever he may apply himself, his every action is so divine, that all others are left behind him." This of Leonardo da Vinci, one of the fairest and greatest the world has seen.

2. "Thou, O God, dost sell unto us all good things at the price of labour," wrote Leonardo himself,[5] and believing it with all his heart he paid the price gladly. A most

[1] A.D. 1452–1519. [2] *Florentine Painters*, p. 67.

[3] *The Uffizi Gallery*, p. 94.

[4] "In this period," says Ruskin, "you get just fifty years of perfect work—the time of the Masters, including Luini, Leonardo, Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, Mantegna, Verrocchio, Cima da Conegliano, Perugino, and Raphael."

[5] Windsor MSS. R 1133. See *Leonardo da Vinci's Note Books*, edited by Edward M'Curdy.

fastidious workman, with a great sense of the significant, he was never content with anything short of the best, and left many works unfinished rather than send them forth without the perfect touch. Illustration of this may be found in his masterpiece, "The Lord's Supper," on the walls of the refectory of the Dominican Convent, Milan, unfortunately now almost perished.[1] The Christ of this great picture was left unfinished, some say because the painter wished it so to mark his sense of the infinite glory of Christ, others because the workman could not satisfy his own sense of the haunting beauty of his Lord. Yet the face and the picture, though unfinished, have been the ideal and despair of artists ever since. This beautiful face, full of spiritual feeling, intense pathos, and marvellous haunting power, would have been lost to us quite but for a chalk drawing of it, from Leonardo's own hand, in the Academy, Milan.[2] The grouping of the figures, the movement of each Apostle, the revelation of character, and the tumult that has come with the words, "One of you shall betray Me," are painted with skill and genius nothing short of wonderful; yet the most wonderful achievement of all is this unfinished Christ, so beautiful, so lonely, so pathetic, and so haunting. One can never get away from it, and having once seen it, one's life is enriched for ever. The face is beardless, and fair beyond words; the pure and lofty soul within speaks through every line of it; the eyes are closed, as if they would not look on His betrayer's shame; the mouth shut, as if no further word will speak the coming sorrow; and the whole is framed in a setting of gold hair falling in

[1] Painted in oils instead of tempera, it soon decayed. Restoration, neglect, and sacrilege have completed the havoc of the years.

[2] See our illustration.

The "Unfinished" Christ.

*Leonardo Da Vinci.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

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The "Unfinished" Christ.

Leonardo Da Vinci.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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Christ of "The Transfiguration."

*Raphael.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

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Christ of "The Transfiguration."

Raphael.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

Page 147.

Christ of the "Last Judgment."

*Michael Angelo.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.* *Page* 152.

Christ of the "Last Judgment."
Michael Angelo.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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rich abundance over Christ's neck and shoulders. Never had such a vision of the Face come to mortal before. Never has it been approached in beauty or power by any painter since.[1]

3. The fame of Leonardo as a Christian painter rests almost entirely on this great picture, especially on this great Christ, undoubtedly one of the greatest that the world has ever seen. Many other paintings by Leonardo have perished. In the National Gallery, London, is the famous "Virgin of the Rocks," but, probably, it is not entirely from Leonardo's hand.[2] The "Annunciation" in the Uffizi Gallery, sometimes ascribed to Da Vinci, is probably by Verrocchio. An unfinished "Adoration" is in the Uffizi, and an unfinished "Madonna" in the Louvre,[3] each containing a beautiful Child-Christ. "Time abides long enough," wrote Leonardo, "for those who make use of it," but it did not abide long enough for him to finish these lovely visions of the Infant years. "Every difficulty can be overcome by effort," he wrote again, but the effort to overcome the difficulties of his great soul's raising was not forthcoming, and unfinished they remain. That Leonardo wrought hard, however, and followed close in the wake of the vision, is shown by his drawings and cartoons the world over. Without a study of these, the greatness of Leonardo cannot

[1] See coloured reproduction in Maurice W. Brockwell's *Leonardo da Vinci*, T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1908. The original "Head of Christ" is in the Brera Gallery, Milan. Compare the drawings in Dr. Richter's great book, *Literary Works of Leonardo*, i. 333 ff.

[2] By Ambrogio da Predis under the direction of Leonardo. The version in the Louvre is finer and is accepted as Leonardo's own work.

[3] Of the famous "Mona Lisa" and reputed "Lucrezia" portraits we have nothing to say except to point to them as showing the infinite care of Leonardo's hand and its marvellous power to reveal the soul of the subject painted. Remember here his true saying: "Mortal beauty passes away, but not art."

be fully known. Compare the sketch for the painting of the "Adoration" in the Uffizi Gallery, and the wonderfully beautiful cartoon of the "Mother and Child with S. Anne and S. John" in the Diploma Gallery, Burlington House. Above all, see the marvellous head of Christ, in silverpoint, in the Academy, Venice. The head is crowned with thorns and is a great study of the pain and anguish of Christ's soul in the day of His Passion. It should be placed alongside the drawing of the head for the "Last Supper" and closely studied. Though less beautiful and marred with pain, it is, in many ways, a greater triumph. Every line tells the story of Christ's anguish.[1] To paint pain in this fashion is to make one feel keenly the anguish of the Sufferer and lay the sorrow of His soul naked to our gaze. It makes one long that Leonardo had found time to lift the world with a picture of the Passion as well as paint for us the Dark Betrayal Night.

4. From Leonardo's creative visions to Raphael's world of beauty and song is a far cry, yet many there are who rejoice in the achievements of Raphael's labour even more than in the genius of Da Vinci. A great painter[2] of classic story, a Humanist and Hellenist at heart, he has brought the Greek soul to the Hebrew altar, and painted the New Testament story with a touch of Hellenic fancy. A great illustrator and space-composer, Raphael had the love of beauty deep within him, and "has enshrined all the noble tenderness and human sublimity of Christianity, all the glamour and edifying beauty of the antique world, in forms so radiant that we ever return to them to renew our inspiration."[3]

[1] See reproduction in Dr. Richter's *Leonardo*, p. 46.

[2] A. D. 1483–1520, born at Urbino, hence sometimes called Raphael d'Urbino.

[3] Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 118. Berenson thinks Raphael was not an artist in the sense that M. Angelo, Leonardo,

A pupil of Timoteo Viti of Urbino, assistant of Perugino and Pintoricchio, Raphael picked up hints from the work of Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, Michael Angelo, and even the second-rate Piombo, and went on adding beauty of form and colour till he won his crown.

5. That Raphael's realm was a world of beauty and song, with the golden light of noon over all, is clear from the radiantly happy Madonnas he has painted for us. The Madonna del Granduca, Madonna della Sedia, the Donna Velata,[1] the Madonna of the Tower,[2] and the Sistine Madonna,[3] are but a few of the many beautiful Madonnas Raphael painted.[4] The beautiful veiled lady of the Donna Velata is the lovely miller's daughter who took Raphael Sanzio's young heart and sat as model for his Sistine Madonna and other masterpieces.

6. More to our purpose, however, is Raphael's famous picture of the "Transfiguration" in the Vatican. The upper part alone is by the master, the lower part with its poor perspective and poor drawing being finished by his assistant Romano. That this is one of the world's masterpieces and a triumph of Christ-portraiture is the judgment of many. It was the last picture painted by Raphael, and death overtook him before it was finished: overworking himself, it is

Velasquez, or even Rembrandt was. He was a great illustrator and a great space-composer. But the success he attained led him to excessive haste at his work and to his art's ruin (*ibid.* p. 128).

[1] All three in the Pitti Palace, Florence.

[2] In the National Gallery, London, presented in 1906.

[3] In Dresden Gallery.

[4] See their reproduction in colour in Paul G. Konody's *Raphael* and *Uffizi Gallery*, and in *Raphael's Madonnas and other Great Pictures*, by Karl Károly. Compare, also, Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.* See, also, the beautiful "Virgin and Child Enthroned" in the collection of the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

said, to outrival Michael Angelo and his protégé Sebastiano del Piombo. The picture was placed at the head of Raphael's bier, and was carried with the dead master through the streets of Rome, amid the mourning of the people. After many wanderings, it has found a resting-place in the Vatican. As all the world knows, it represents the Christ transfigured and poised in mid-air. On either side of Him fly Moses and Elias. On the mountain, in the immediate foreground, lie the three bewildered disciples, while away below is pictured the story of the epileptic boy and his agony. The fresco which gave Raphael the idea of the Christ of the "Transfiguration" is, says Ruskin, in an old wood-shed at San Miniato, concealed behind a heap of faggots.[1]

7. The Christ-figure, as well as the whole picture, is the subject of some controversy. "The 'Transfiguration,'" says Q. de Quincy, "is not alone the greatest of his compositions, but also it is the work where are found the greatest number of the highest merits peculiar to painting."[2] Lady Eastlake, on the other hand, regards it as "one of Raphael's least interesting works."[3] Mrs. Jameson gives a glowing description of the picture and of "the radiant figure of the Saviour floating in mid-air, with arms outspread, garments of transparent light, glorified visage upturned as if in rapture, and the hair lifted and scattered as I have seen it in persons under the influence of electricity."[4] This "radiant figure" of the Transfigured Christ draws many. "It is," says one, "the wonderful power and beauty

[1] Library edition, *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. p. 40, and footnote.
[2] Quoted by Karl Károly in *Raphael's Madonnas*, p. 41.
[3] *Five Great Painters*, vol. ii. p. 103.
[4] *History of Our Lord in Art*, i. 344.

of the face and figure of Christ which gives this work its overwhelming attraction."[1] Not so, says another: "There is a femininity in the expression which it would be too much to call hysterical, but is unpleasantly suggestive of earthly emotion rather than heavenly."[2] "The picture does not satisfy us," writes Dean Farrar. "It is meant to be devotional, and not a mere memorial transcript of the face. Yet we lose the thought of the transfigured Christ in admiration for the passion, the learning, the marvellous skill of the painter."[3]

8. Whatever our opinion as to the twofold scene depicted in this masterpiece, and whatever our interpretation of the purpose of the painter, glory above, pain below, a picture to lift our eyes from the pain and bewilderment of earth, above the fear and agony of all, to the soaring figure of the glorified Christ, there can be little doubt that there is ground for much criticism. It not only "fails to enlist earnest sympathy,"[4] but it fails to satisfy one's sense of reality. It is not only the "kicking gracefulnesses" of Raphael that offend us with Ruskin, but the whole "Transfiguration" is "not a little dull."[5] Ruskin goes farther, and calls it "ugly," and, again, "a failure."[6] Though one of "the masterpieces" of the world, it gives me little satisfaction. The figure of Christ is specially disappointing, and the face holds no charm. There is no haunting glory and no spiritual spell. The uplifting vision I see, and the

[1] Rev. James Burns in *The Christ Face in Art*, p. 85.
[2] Mrs. Jenner in *Christ in Art*, p. 138.
[3] *Life of Christ in Art*, p. 326.
[4] Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, vol. ii. p. 463. See our illustration, detail only.
[5] Library edition, vol. v. 82–83 note, and vol. xi. 418.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. xxxv. 273 and xxxvi. 250.

glory of the painter's thought, but the failure I see also, and the limitations of the painter's art. It is a sublime defeat, yet honours must be given the vanquished. The dead hand did its best, but the best came short of victory. The poet felt for the right word, but while he felt, Death overtook him. There gleamed before him a great picture elusive as the clouds of morn, but while he dreamed of it and sketched it out, Night overwhelmed him. He beheld the glory and passed into the Light.[1]

9. Other Christ-pictures by Raphael should be noted, though they have not the fame of his "Transfiguration." Berenson gives him the "Salvator Mundi," in Brescia;[2] "Crucifixion," in London;[3] fresco of "Christ and Saints," in Perugia;[4] and the "Entombment," in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, a picture which the great critic treats with scorn. He regards it as the only composition which Raphael attempted to treat entirely as every serious figure-painting should be treated, for the tactile values and movement it may be made to impart. Raphael toiled and sweated to achieve what his head understood but his heart felt not. "The result," says Berenson, "is one of the most uncouth 'academies' that may be seen, at least outside of that charnel-house of prize pictures, the diploma gallery of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris."[5] Beside these, there are attributed to Raphael a "Resurrection," in the Vatican; a fresco of "Christ in Glory," in the Chapel of Our Lady, S. Servo, Perugia; the Christ of the "Vision of Ezekiel," one of the noblest of Raphael's works, now in

[1] The picture is now much blackened with age. Compare it with Fra Angelico's "Transfiguration." [2] Gal. Tosio, Sala xiii. 37.

[3] In the late Mr. L. Mond's collection, bequeathed (contingent on his wife's death) to the National Gallery.

[4] S. Severo. [5] Berenson's *Central Italian Painters*, p. 113.

the Pitti, Florence;[1] "Christ carrying His Cross," a fine bit of work; and a famous "Descent from the Cross."[2]

10. If Leonardo be the finest genius of the Italian Renaissance and Raphael the happiest painter of the Mother of Jesus, Michael Angelo may be reckoned one of the noblest and greatest souls that ever touched a painter's brush.[3] Grander and more powerful than Raphael, as Leonardo is more profound and refined, Michael Angelo leapt at once to his destiny. A giant in force and thought, a restless fiery soul, his genius and individuality are stamped on the earliest works from his hands. A pupil of Ghirlandajo, much influenced by Donatello and Signorelli, he could bear no rivals and fought Leonardo and Raphael for first place in the praise of his day. Bearing in mind his own great saying, "Who walks behind another will never pass him by," he strove to outstep all his contemporaries and take the chief place in the world of art. A king among men and a man of abounding life-force, he imparts his mighty power to every work of his hand. Masterful, overwhelming, mighty in life and art, he never knew the rest of quiet waters. Titanic, masculine, passionate, daring, he is out for a kingdom and laughs at the peace of a quiet heart. Give him power and let him make his paint tingle with his own life-blood and his characters throb with his mighty passion, and he will laugh a giant's laugh and taste a giant's joy. "Of imagination all compact" his drawings may be studied in Mr. Berenson's

[1] See illustration in Karl Károly's *Raphael's Madonnas*, etc., p. 20.

[2] Raphael died on Good Friday, April 6, 1520, in his thirty-seventh year.

[3] A.D. 1475–1564. The judgment of Ruskin—"Raphael and M. Angelo were great fellows, but from all I can see they have been the ruin of art" (iv. xxxvi)—must be qualified by his lavish praise elsewhere.

great book,[1] and his conception of Christ in several famous paintings, finished and unfinished.

11. Greatest of these is his "Last Judgment," one of the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. First shown to the public on Christmas Day 1541, and completed when Michael Angelo was sixty-six years old, it has sometimes been asserted that this painting, one of the largest and most comprehensive in the world, is "a tempest of contending forms, a hurly-burly of floating, falling, soaring, and descending figures." Nothing, as Mr. J. A. Symonds says,[2] can be more opposed to the truth. It is painted with mathematical precision and tremendous force. Every line and figure is carefully studied, and every group is the achievement of Michael Angelo's Titanic brain and Herculean hand. Every figure, indeed, is Herculean and every stroke Titanic, and none more than the massive Central Figure of the Christ, terrible in His day of wrath. The picture is the product of the thought of his age, and Michael Angelo has saturated it in the passion and might of his own restless soul. It represents Christ as Judge surrounded by martyrs and saints. At His right side crouches His mother, her head averted. Above Him, fly the angels of doom, hurling fear and death at every sweep of their wings. Below are the damned in hopeless agony, in every attitude of bitterness and woe. Of necessity a terrible picture, and made all the more terrible by the magnificent painting of the great scene and by the presence there of the symbols of Christ's great love, the post at which He endured His scourging, His

[1] *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 167–227, ii. 76–124. See, also, John Addington Symonds' masterly *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, with 50 reproductions, 2 vols., 1893. See our illustration, detail only.

[2] *Life of Michelangelo*, ii. 59.

Cross, His crown of thorns, even the sponge and the nails. Only one touch of gentleness, one stroke of love, redeems the picture beyond the tenderness of the Mother's averted gaze. Among the blessed some souls are seen embracing each other, with folding arms, and clasping hands, and clinging lips. "While painting these," suggests Mr. Symonds, "peradventure Michel Angelo thought of his own father and his brother."[1]

12. As might be expected, opinions on this great picture vary. Lord Lindsay regards it as the product of Savonarola's teaching and of the Protestantism within the bosom of Catholicism. It teaches by terror and raises the question for every beholder, "Am I, individually safe?"[2] Ruskin opposes this, and declares Michael Angelo gives us here a great picture, dramatic and sensational, delighting with Tintoretto, in painting the wrath of the Judgment rather than its justice.[3] He speaks of the Madonna, "meek, subdued, retiring behind the majesty of Christ and robed, the lower limbs at least, in the transparent blue of heaven," and he regards this touch of delicate feeling as singularly contrasted with the "unapproachable majesty—the infinite power—of the conception of the principal figure."[4] He notes the right hand of the Christ upraised in anger and compares it with the wounded hand of Orcagna's Christ, from which, he thinks, Michael Angelo took his gesture.[5] Mr. John Addington Symonds criticises the picture

[1] *Life of Michelangelo*, ii. 62. Compare M. Angelo's work with Orcagna's and with Tintoretto's, and note Ruskin's and Lord Lindsay's criticisms and contrasts, e.g. *Modern Painters*, iv. xxxvi, and xii. 228–232. Note, also, Ruskin's criticism of Lord Lindsay.

[2] Lord Lindsay's *History of Christian Art*, vol. ii. 214.

[3] Library edition of Ruskin, xxxvi. 579, xii. 228–232, iv. xxxvi.

[4] *Ibid.* iii. xx. [5] *Ibid.* xxiii. 150.

severely. He thinks Michael Angelo neglected what ought to have been "the main object of his art: convincing eloquence, the solemnity proper to his theme, spirituality of earthly grossness quit." As a collection of athletic nudes the "Last Judgment" is to him a stupendous miracle, but, however awe-inspiring, terrifying, dreadful in its poignant expression of wrath, retaliation, revenge, cruelty, and helpless horror the picture may be, he regards it as missing the supreme point of the "Dies Iræ." He does not hear the still small voice of pathos and human hope, and turns away disappointed.[1] Sir Charles Holroyd, Director of the National Gallery, thinks Michael Angelo concentrated his powers here to paint "the terror of the wrath of God," and teach that "no human soul is innocent beside the Holiness of Heaven." The picture is full of symbolism to him, and every figure is beautiful and noble. He marks especially souls that help each other in their upward struggle; beads of prayer with which one good man draws souls to heaven; a woman lifting up her despairing husband; and souls long separated by death rushing together in close embrace, father and son, husband and wife.[2] Mr. Berenson regards the "Last Judgment" as grandly conceived, but feels that "when the crash comes, none will survive it, no, not even God"—so hopeless is the whole picture. Michael Angelo, therefore, "failed in his conception of the subject, and could not but fail."[3] Lord Ronald Gower considers the work as a whole a gigantic failure, a sublime fiasco. "No sane-minded being," he

[1] *Life of Michel Angelo*, ii. 64–65.

[2] See Sir C. Holroyd's excellent monograph, *Michael Angelo*, pub. 1911, pp. 187–188.

[3] *Florentine Painters*, p. 91.

writes, "can believe that this hurly-burly of nude figures, with the pantomime crew of devils and hobgoblins, can by any stretch of the imagination be a foreshadowing of the ultimate day when the Almighty shall end all sorrow and suffering, when death and sin shall be no more, and the last enemy of man shall perish."[1] The manner in which the subject is treated suggests to him the belief of a savage in a god of hate and revenge, rather than the faith of a follower of the Divine Saviour of mankind.[2] Dean Farrar thinks this picture has helped to "darken the imagination of Christendom," and describes the Saviour as "awful, gloomy as night, with a gesture of ruthless menace driving the damned in headlong ruin into the abyss, as if His right hand were

> 'Grasping ten thousand thunders, which He sent,
> Before Him, such as in their souls infixed
> Plagues'."[3]

13. Whatever our opinion of this amazing work, there can be no doubt that it is not in tune with the music of Michael Angelo's early hopes. Like most of his later work, it bears the mark of a wearied and discontented genius. The opposition and injustice of the years, the conditions under which he laboured, the work he was forced to do, made his soul bitter. Revolt and resistance, scorn and suffering, profound melancholy and unutterable weariness, all entered the giant-heart, till he cried in agony: "Good it is to slumber, and better still to be marble. Not to see, not to feel, is fortunate in these days of shame and misery. Therefore, do not wake me. Speak low, I pray you."[4] The

[1] *Michael Angelo*, p. 69. [2] *Ibid.* p. 70.
[3] *Life of Christ in Art*, p. 487. But compare Romain Rolland's *Life of Michael Angelo*, 1912, p. 122.
[4] See Mrs. Ady's *Painters of Florence*, p. 356.

days were "days of shame and misery," and the wrath of God, the terror of a pitiless Christ, the triumph of a Great Avenger, were the only succours of Michael Angelo's soul. No, not the only succour. For, while painting this fresco, the pen of the great painter was writing thus to the woman he loved:[1] "I am going in search of truth with uncertain step. My heart always wavering between vice and virtue, suffers and faints like a weary traveller wandering in the dark."[2] A "terrible fellow" the critics paint him, yet Michael Angelo, too, is redeemed of love.

14. It should be specially noted that in the "Last Judgment" we have a departure from the traditional "likeness" of Christ. It is not intended as a portrait, but as a symbol expressed in terms of human form, like the Christ of Burne-Jones in "Dies Domini."[3] That Michael Angelo could paint a Christ of beauty and tenderness is plain from many of his drawings. Compare his drawing of "Christ Crucified," "a most exquisite bit of modelling," says Berenson;[4] his "Christ expelling the Money-Changers;"[5] and, above all, his chalk drawings for a picture on Christ's Resurrection. This Berenson declares to be "the most carefully thought out and noblest of the designs for this subject." In one drawing Christ is seen just coming from the tomb, in another "floating away as in a dream, like a rising mist." If Michael Angelo had but painted it, thinks Berenson, we should have had a

[1] Vittoria Colonna. [2] See *Rex Regum*, p. 121.

[3] The tradional likeness is abandoned, also, by moderns like Madox Brown and Rossetti. Compare Madox Brown's "Christ washing the Disciples' Feet," which is a portrait of F. G. Stephens, and Rossetti's Christ in "Mary Magdalene," which is a likeness of Burne-Jones.

[4] See *Drawings of the Florentines*, Nos. 1529–30.

[5] *Ibid.* Nos. 1513–15. Compare, also, among his sculpture, his very beautiful and tender Pietà.

picture of grandeur rivalling, if not surpassing, his matchless Pietà.[1] His unfinished Christ of "The Deposition," in the National Gallery,[2] is, however, far from pleasing, and is regarded as one of the most hopeless things in art. In all fairness, however, it should be remembered that when Michael Angelo paints a Dead Christ, He is really dead, and all the hopelessness of death is painted. To put a smile on the face of Death is hardly possible.[3] The beauty of Michael Angelo's Child-Christ should be remembered, as in the tondo of the "Holy Family" (Uffizi), and in many of the drawings.[4] Compare, also, the "Madonna and Child with S. John the Baptist and Angels" in the National Gallery, attributed by some to Michael Angelo. That the great giant, with all his limitations, faced the light is clear from his fine "Sonnet to the Supreme Being":—

> "The prayers I make will then be sweet indeed
> If Thou the spirit give by which I pray:
> My unassisted heart is barren clay,
> That of its native self can nothing feed:
> Of good and pious works Thou art the seed,
> That quickens only where Thou say'st it may:
> Unless Thou show to us Thine own true way
> No man can find it: Father! Thou must lead." [5]

15. The pupil of Bellini and friend of Michael Angelo,[6] Titian has given us many portraits of Christ. Born among the hills of Cadore, near Venice, he drank in the Venetian love of colour and achieved great success in the

[1] See *Drawings of the Florentines*, Nos. 1507, 1507A.

[2] London.

[3] To compare this with the "Dead Christ" of Fra Angelico is scarcely wise. Its hopelessness is a tribute to the truth of Michael Angelo's work.

[4] See Berenson's *Drawings of the Florentines*, Nos. 1502 and 1518.

[5] Wordsworth's translation.

[6] Michael Angelo forced Leonardo from Florence and drove Raphael to work to death, but looked kindly on the labours of Titian.

blending of beautiful harmonies. Throughout his long life he was continually changing his style and adding to his art, and the end found him dreaming of a fairer Christ than the world had ever seen.[1] Formed by Giorgione and others, the love of beauty is deep in Titian, especially the beauty of colour, and he paints Christ with grace and thoughtfulness, though not always with deep spiritual feeling or lofty spiritual purpose. The abounding joy of life surges within him, and reveals itself in the scheme and colour of his pictures.[2] He is frankly interested in men and women, in gorgeous scenes and lovely colours, and he really thinks more of Venice than of Heaven, and more of his fellows than of Christ. He loves Him, but He is far away—and his contemporaries are so near. He hears Him calling, calling, across the years, and listens—but the song of the oars is in his ears and the music of many waters. Only late in life did he wake up, and feel life's sorrow.[3]

16. While painting many pictures of the Infant years and many charming Madonnas,[4] it is as a painter of the manhood of Jesus that Titian has won fame. The Christ of "The Tribute Money" has been praised for four hundred years, and is still regarded as one of the finest pictures of Christ ever painted.[5] Done as a panel for the

[1] A.D. 1477–1576. Titian's great age is questioned by some. See Herbert Cook's *Reviews and Appreciations*, p. 45 ff.

[2] Ruskin reckons Titian one of the four great world-painters, and the greatest painter of the three great Venetians (xii. 109, xvi. 314).

[3] See Berenson's *Venetian Painters*, pp. 44–48.

[4] See the "Gipsy Madonna" and "Madonna with Cherries," Vienna; "Madonna and Child," Munich; "Holy Family" and "Madonna," National Gallery, London, and Mr. L. Mond's "Madonna," London; "Madonna and Saints," Dresden; "Madonna and Saints," Paris; "Madonna with Roses," Uffizi, Florence; "Madonna and Saints," Glasgow. Compare Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

[5] See our illustration.

Duke of Ferrara, and framed first in the door of a cupboard, it is now in the Dresden Gallery. Mr. Ricketts pronounces it "one of the most beautiful pictures in the world."[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle tell us that Vasari regarded the head of Christ as "stupendous and miraculous," and that it was considered by all the artists of his time as "the most perfect and best handled of any that Titian ever produced." Their own opinion is: "The form of Christ was never conceived by any of the Venetians of such ideal beauty as this. Nor has Titian ever done better; and it is quite certain that no one, Titian himself included, within the compass of the North Italian Schools, reproduced the human shape with more nature and truth, and with greater delicacy of modelling. . . . Nothing can exceed the brightness and sheen or the transparent delicacy of the colours. . . . The most perfect easel-picture of which Venice ever witnessed the production, this is also the most polished work of Titian."[2] After all this, it is not a little surprising to find Ruskin, though a great admirer of Titian, hitting off the picture in one line. "Poor," he writes, "except in hand. Perhaps over-cleaned."[3] Lady Eastlake, also, refuses to speak of "Godlike beauty" or go into raptures over this Christ. Remarking that "The Tribute Money" is one of Titian's earlier works, she declares "the expression cannot fail to disappoint. Aiming at something foreign to his feeling, the head of the Saviour, instead of being even grand and dignified, is cold and expressionless, with an individuality which betrays the model."[4]

[1] *Titian*, by Charles Ricketts, 1910, p. 51.
[2] *Life of Titian*, vol. i. 119–121.
[3] Library edition, vol. vii. 493.
[4] *Five Great Painters*, vol. ii. 37.

Mrs. Jenner thinks that the mouth of the Christ of "The Tribute Money" has a distinct likeness to the mouth of "The Portrait of a Man" in the Old Pinakothek, Munich, and that this gives the picture "an unpleasant air of portraiture."[1] And I, too, must own that this Christ does not hold me. It has beauty, colour, grace, but the expression fails to charm. When all is said, however, Titian's "Tribute," both in conception and achievement, remains the noblest treatment of the theme ever painted. The Pharisee, in particular, is magnificent. The subtle cunning of his strong face is in striking contrast to the transparent truthfulness and radiant sincerity of Christ's guileless bearing.

17. Beside this, Titian has left us a very large number of pictures of our Lord, both of His life and His Passion. He has a fine rendering of "Christ's Baptism," with a beautiful Christ kneeling;[2] a fine treatment of the "Transfiguration," which should be compared with Raphael's;[3] and a good picture of "Christ and the Adulteress."[4] He has two paintings on wood and canvas, in Florence and St. Petersburg, of the "Salvator Mundi," both good, the St. Petersburg canvas specially pleasing and certainly one of Titian's finest attempts to portray the Christ.[5] A great, strong, muscular, brawny Christ is his "Ecce Homo" in Chantilly, but scarcely winning. His "Man of Sorrows"[6] is good, but his "Crowning with Thorns"[7] and "Christ crowned with Thorns"[8] are too full of violence and pain for

[1] *Christ in Art*, p. 130.
[2] Capitoline Gallery, Rome.
[3] S. Salvatore, Venice.
[4] Imperial Gallery, Venice.
[5] In the Pitti and Hermitage.
[6] San Rocco, Venice.
[7] Louvre, Paris.
[8] Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Christ of "Tribute Money."

*Titian.*

*Photograph by Alinari.*

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Christ of "Tribute Money."

Titian.

Photograph by Alinari.

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Christ Bearing His Cross.

*Giorgione.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

Christ Bearing His Cross.

Giorgione.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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Christ as a Youth.

*Luini.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

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Christ as a Youth.

Luini.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

Page 172.

Ecce Homo.

*Correggio.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.* *Page* 169.

Ecce Homo.

Correggio.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

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me. His "Christ bearing His Cross"[1] takes my heart, and his picture of Simon of Cyrene helping Christ to bear His Cross is a charming bit of work.[2] The Christ in both of these pictures is splendid, and the latter should be compared with his St. Petersburg "Salvator." Two renderings of "The Last Supper," each quite distinct, should be closely studied.[3] The great "Crucifixion," in Ancona, with its fine Christ against a stormy sky, and its complete realisation of the loneliness and anguish of the death, is magnificent. His two "Entombments," with their big, muscular Dead Christs,[4] each different, are not quite so successful, though very fine and far more pleasing than many renderings of the theme. The "Noli me Tangere," in the National Gallery,[5] and the "Resurrection," in Urbino,[6] are scarcely typical of Titian's best work, though the Mary of the London picture is beautiful. The "Resurrection," in Brescia, with its four lovely side panels, is finer far.[7] Another "Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene" is much more pleasing,[8] the Christ-face here being beautifully drawn, while "Christ appearing to His Mother," a subject rarely painted, is a lovely bit of work, full of charming suggestion and fine feeling.[9] The "Supper at Emmaus," in the Louvre, should also be studied, both

[1] Prado, Madrid. Berenson points out that in these last four pictures we have Titian's awakening to a sense of life's pain. Even his Christ is here painted as a godlike being almost brutalised by pain. See *Venetian Painters*, p. 46.

[2] Prado, Madrid. [3] Museo Civico, Urbino, and Escorial.

[4] Paris and Madrid. See reproduction of Louvre "Entombment" in *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*, facing p. 222.

[5] London. [6] Museo Civico. [7] SS. Nazaro e Celso.

[8] A fragment in the Prado, Madrid. See, also, his "Entombment" and "Cross-Bearing" in the Prado.

[9] S. Maria, Medole.

for its own sake and for its revelation of the versatility of Titian in his treatment of the Christ-face.[1] Last of all, we look at Titian's last picture, his unfinished "Pietà," in Venice,[2] a great rendering of the theme, though somewhat spoiled to one by its obtrusive symbolic background.[3]

18. A great painter of contemporary portraits and Greek myths, Titian was never satisfied with his painting of Christ, and the end found him longing to do better. When ninety-nine years old, with death near, he was dreaming dreams of a Christ fairer than the world had yet seen, as witness this: "Dear to me are the mountains of Cadore and the rushing waters of the Piave, and the murmur of the wind in the pine trees, where my home lies far away. But not there! In the city where I have laboured—in the church where I achieved my first triumph—bury me there! Promise to bury me there, and I will yet live to paint for you another 'Christ,' a 'Christ of Pity,' that shall be more near to what He is than any that has yet been painted, even as I am by so many years the nearer to seeing Him myself." The "Christ of Pity," alas! was never finished,[4] for the plague took Titian and carried him into the Upper Room. His prayer, however, was granted. The Venetians buried him with honours in the Chapel of the Crucified Saviour, at the Frari, where he still reposes near "one of

[1] This is the nearest approach to the type painted in "The Tribute Money."

[2] Academy.

[3] Excellent reproductions of all the pictures mentioned appear in Mr. Charles Ricketts' *Titian*, published 1910. The "Pietà" was finished after Titian's death by his devoted friend Palma Giovane.

[4] Some suggest that this was the unfinished "Pietà," now in the Academy, Venice. We doubt it.

the finest creations of the art of all ages," his own "Madonna di Casa Pesaro."[1]

19. The greatest painter of Venice, and one of the four consummately great artists of the Golden Noon, Titian received his inspiration from two other Venetians, Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione, to whom we must now refer. The most famous of a family distinguished for painting, Giovanni Bellini[2] was formed in Padua under the influence of Donatello and Mantegna. "Next to the mosaics of the first centuries," says Berenson, "the early works of Giovanni Bellini, the greatest Venetian master of the fifteenth century, best fulfil this religious intention: they were peculiarly capable of being used as an indirect stimulus to moods of devotion and contrition. . . . No one can look at Bellini's pictures of the Dead Christ upheld by the Virgin or angels without being put into a mood of deep contrition, nor at his earlier Madonnas without a thrill of awe and reverence."[3] It must be confessed, however, that this function of art is no longer honoured by the crowd. Three of Giovanni's finest Madonnas may be seen in the Academy, Venice, and one in the National Gallery, London. His Pietàs are numerous: there is one in Bergamo, in the Brera, Milan, in the Ducal Palace, Venice,

[1] Compare Stearns' *Four Great Venetians*, p. 177, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Life of Titian*, vol. ii. 415. When Perugino died of plague he was obscurely buried in a field, while Ghirlandajo, a victim of plague also, was buried by night.

[2] A.D. 1428–1516.

[3] *Venetian Painters*, p. 3. And Giovanni Bellini does not stand alone. His contemporaries, Gentile Bellini, the Vivarini, Crivelli, and Cima da Conegliano (the last of whom Ruskin reckons one of the finest painters of all time), all began by painting in the same spirit, and produced almost the same effect. We are forced, however, to pass them by with very few words. See *infra*, pp. 188–190.

in the Royal Gallery, Berlin, and elsewhere. These Dead Christs are painfully impressive renderings of the theme, as are, also, his Dead Christ, standing alone, in the Poldi, Milan; supported by three little angels, in the Communal, Rimini; and supported by two child-angels, in the Correr Museum, Venice. In the Milan picture the face of Christ rests against His mother's as she clasps Him in her arms. The face is beautiful even in death, and stands apart as a fine conception of the Christ. It should be noted that it is almost beardless and that the head is crowned with thorns.[1] Beside these Dead Christs, Bellini gave the world other tokens of his love for Jesus. The "Agony in the Garden" and "Blood of the Redeemer," both in the National Gallery,[2] do not show him at his best. The "Transfiguration," in Naples,[3] has a fine portrait of Christ, upstanding, His hands lifted up, His eyes looking at you kindly out of the picture. The treatment of the same subject in Venice[4] is not nearly so good, while the Christ-face there is poor. In Venice,[5] also, is a "Crucifixion," the lone figure of the Christ against a landscape of great charm. It is a striking and original conception, though I do not like the Christ-face here again. Mr. Berenson also mentions a doubtful "Crucifixion" at Pesaro, and a number of altarpieces, with Christ in them, from Bellini's hand.[6] A deeply religious man, with much love for Christ and reverence in his heart, Bellini held aloof from the gaiety and magnificence of his age, and took the eyes of his luxurious city and fastened them on the dead or dying Christ. Thoughtless the world

[1] See reproduction in colour in Mr. Geo. Hay's *Bellini*, and look at his Madonnas reproduced by Mrs. Ady in her lovely *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

[2] London. [3] Sala Grande. [4] Correr Museum. [5] Correr Museum.

[6] There is, also, a fine "Baptism" in S. Corona, Vicenza.

might be, but heed must Bellini. "No passing stain," says one, "seems to have dimmed his soul; pure, devout, and serious, does he show himself in all his works."[1]

20. In Giorgione[2] we have one of the best loved and most accomplished of the men of art of the Golden Noon. The most poetic of all artists, his rich endowments and great achievements place him in the company of Leonardo and Angelo, and proclaim him their peer. "It would be really hard to say more about Giorgione than this," says Mr. Berenson, "that his pictures are the perfect reflex of the Renaissance at its height."[3] Giorgione's life was short, but he painted pictures of great beauty and skill, and proved himself one of the greatest religious painters of all time. Fellow-pupil with Titian of Bellini, and devoted for a time to Carpaccio, he surpassed his masters in achievement and outstripped Titian in the race. Endowed with great talents, and quick to find his powers, he exercised a great influence on Titian's early years and took Venice by

[1] *Christ in Art*, p. 123. A Venetian painter of the same serious order was Carlo Crivelli, born about 1430, died after 1493. A pupil of the first Vivarini, he was influenced by the Paduans, Squarcione, Schiavone, and others. He has many Madonnas, one of which may be seen in the National Gallery, London. The Passion and the Dead Christ, however, drew him most. He has a "Crucifixion" in the Brera, Milan, and Pietàs in Ascoli, National Gallery, London, in the Oggiono Gallery, Milan, and in the Vatican. There is dignity and seriousness in his work, and the Venetian's love of colour, but he has little sense of the joy and beauty of Christ or of life, and is often ludicrous and revolting. His "Dead Christ supported by Angels," in the National Gallery, is to me terrible. He has, however, a "Resurrection," in Lord Northbrook's collection, a vision of life indeed, but scarce good.

[2] Giorgio Barbarelli, 1478–1511, illegitimate son of a peasant girl. Compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in North Italy*, iii. 4.

[3] *Venetian Painters*, p. 30.

his love of beauty and his poetic charm.[1] Perfectly in touch with the ripened spirit of the Renaissance, he "combined the refined feeling and poetry of Bellini with Carpaccio's gaiety and love of beauty and colour."[2] His compositions, as another says, have not only a style, but an atmosphere, "which is like the climate of a mysterious, enchanted land, where summer weather would never cease and every day would bring delight."[3] One of the "seven supreme colourists" praised by Ruskin, the great critic says his figures are "like flakes of sunshine."[4]

21. Few, comparatively, of Giorgione's pictures remain, too few for the world's gladdening, but every picture is a "flake of sunshine." His "Holy Family" in the Louvre is "a most beautiful Giorgione" (Ruskin), and his Madonna, at Castelfranco, conveys to us ideas of "noble, beautiful, and constant things."[5] Both are beyond all praise. His pictures of the Manhood years hold us, also, with an irresistible charm. Mr. Berenson only gives two, "Christ bearing His Cross" in S. Rocco, Venice, and the same subject in the Casa Loschi, Vicenza, but others give more. A "Christ bearing His Cross," now in Mrs. Gardner's collection, Boston, was long attributed to Bellini, but is now regarded as Giorgione's. Taking the Vicenza or

[1] That Titian took his Christ of the "Tribute Money" from a Giorgione portrait is clear. Compare it with Giorgione's "Knight of Malta," a beautiful portrait.

[2] *Venetian Painters*, p. 29.

[3] Stearns' *Four Great Venetians*, p. 19.

[4] Library edition, vii. 415, iv. 195. Compare, also, Walter Pater's fine appreciation in his *Renaissance*.

[5] Library edition, xii. 454, xi. 241. See reproduction of first in E. L. Seeley's *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 290, and of second in Mr. Herbert Cook's *Giorgione*, frontispiece. Compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 25, and Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*.

Venice pictures alone, one instinctively feels that here is a masterly treatment of the theme and a beautiful portrait of Christ. Not sinking under the load, but bearing it bravely and well, the Christ goes nobly to His doom, with eyes that melt our hearts, and face that lives for ever in our memory. No such haunting picture of the living Man has ever been painted, with so much refinement and grace, so much poetry and charm, so much reality and power. It does not repel us by its suffering: it draws us with its courage. It does not bewilder us with its sadness: it captures us with its truth. It does not harrow us with cruelty and shame: it captivates us with a Christ that is able to bear Himself like a conqueror and carry His Cross with strength. This brave, strong, tender Christ, with His liquid melting eyes and appealing grace, wins us and holds us always. There is no getting away from Him: one does not think of getting away, but only of getting nearer Him; one feels that he must love Him, and follow Him, and play the hero too. The crown of thorns is on His brow, but even that looks fitting, and fairer than any halo or crown. A white-robed Figure, He is Innocence incarnate: and face and robe alike cleanse us, and call us to keep our garments clean. If only Titian, or Raphael, or Angelo, had painted a Christ like this! We place it next our heart with Leonardo's, and carry it wherever we go.[1]

22. Passing by Carpaccio, who painted only a few pictures within our sphere and scarce demanding our

[1] See our illustration. Other pictures attributed to Giorgione, not certain, are: "The Adulteress before Christ," Glasgow; "Deposition, Trevesa; "Resurrection," in Church of S. Francis; "Scourging of Christ," in S. Rocco; "Christ in Limbo," Ducal Palace, Venice; and "Christ and Magdalene," Paris.

attention,[1] we come to Correggio, the youngest of the great painters of the Golden Noon. Correggio as a painter is unrivalled in grace of form, a soul filled with gladness and a joyous sense of beauty. Ruskin regards him as the "captain of the painter's art as such," one of the "four greatest painters whom the world has seen," and one of the "seven supreme colourists."[2] He cannot be too much studied for his colour, his joyousness, and his exquisite softness; but his heart was not broken with the sorrow of Christ, and his life not stricken with the tragedy of His death. So it comes to pass that his hand paints us some lovely conceptions of Christ's features, but fails to show us the King "stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." Had his own soul been torn to its roots or his own life been blasted with bitter winds, few painters could have given us nobler contributions to the story of Jesus, but his sense of beauty and joyousness had no stain of blood on them and did not come to him by the deepening way of grief. Hence his very joyousness mocks us, his sweetness cloys, and his sense of beauty, uncharged with pain, seems out of place beneath the crown of thorns.

23. The joyousness and beauty of Correggio may be seen in his pictures of the Christ-Child, *e.g.* "La Notte," and the Madonnas with S. Francis, S. George, and S. Sebastian, Dresden; the lovely "La Zingarella," Naples;[3] "Repose in Egypt," Uffizi, Florence; "Marriage of S. Catherine," Louvre, Paris; "Madonna del Latte,"

[1] A.D. 1478–1522, a Lombardian. A few Madonnas were painted by him, and the "Call of Matthew" and "Garden of Gethsemane" in the Church of S. George dei Schiavoni, Venice.

[2] *Works*, xx. 170, xii. 109, vii. 415.

[3] The "Gypsy Madonna" is a portrait of Correggio's pious but charming wife.

Buda Pesth; "Il Giorno," Parma, and his classical pictures. His sense of beauty, with his lack of the gift of pain marring his great achievements, may be studied in his "Christ taking leave of His Mother before the Passion";[1] his "Agony in the Garden";[2] and, more than all, in his famous and popular "Ecce Homo," now in the National Gallery.[3] Whether Correggio painted by candlelight, as Reynolds suggests,[4] or his dramatic ambition was unable to picture the tragic story, it is clear that the great colourist fails to give us in any of these pictures an adequate sense of the pain and sorrow of Jesus. Of the "Agony," Mr. Sturge Moore is constrained to confess "Correggio's treatment betrays the immodesty of indifference: he never intended to satisfy more than the most conventional demands. The subject did not grip him; he has grasped it with callous ingenuity and superficial loquacity. Though vastly superior to the National Gallery version, the picture at Apsley House is not even as a painting wholly satisfactory; it has a meretricious mastery to that shown in the composition, in which the difficult problems of colour and light are solved with the adroitness of a conjurer."[5] Of the "Ecce Homo," with its picture of the fainting Mother at the side of her Son, and its mild, self-satisfied Pilate, we can only say that Correggio is working in "candlelight" indeed, and has no vision of a blood-red sun or of darkening shame deeper than death. He is still in his joyous world of kicking infants and pretty women, his fairyland of beauty and song, far away from the world

[1] In Mr. R. H. Benson's collection, London. See lovely reproduction in *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

[2] Apsley House, London.

[3] See our illustration.

[4] See Sturge Moore's *Correggio*, p. 140.

[5] *Correggio*, by T. Sturge Moore, p. 144.

of tragedy, sorrow, and pain. The heart of the painter is singing a joyous song while his hand is painting the great tragedy, and so he gives us "a thing of beauty" but not "a joy," a pain rather, and that because it fails to pierce our hearts with a sense of the loneliness and sorrow of the great Sufferer.

24. Other Christ-pictures by Correggio are his "Noli me Tangere," in the Prado, Madrid, and his "Deposition," in the Parma Gallery. "In the original state," thinks Mr. Ricketts, this Prado picture must have been "one of the most fortunate and typical works" of the master, though it has suffered much from repainting.[1] Mr. Moore compares it with Titian's "Noli" in the National Gallery,[2] and says that the Christ in both is "an operatic figure, but with that charm which such fulsome gesticulation may really have in the young," yet adds, with truth, that "its emphasis is joined to a freshness and elasticity which make it delightful."[3] This picture is to me very pleasing and happy, despite the dramatic pose of both Christ and Magdalene. The "Deposition" is ruined by repainting, but it is evident that Correggio never approached the success of Michael Angelo in this picture of the Dead Christ. There is, however, some sense of pain here. The beautiful faces of the women are painted with grief, and the helpless body of the Christ, lying at their feet, is a haunting figure finely set in a fair framework of stricken womanhood.[4]

25. If Correggio had joy without seriousness, and beauty without tragedy, we have in Bernardino Luini, "child of the Alps and their divinest lake," a master who combined

[1] See his volume on the Prado Gallery, p. 117. [2] London.
[3] See his *Correggio*, p. 149, and illustration there facing p. 118.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 151, and illustration there, p. 126.

joyousness with seriousness, and, while possessing beauty of form and colour, had also power to paint tragedy. Pupil of Leonardo in his days at Milan, Luini learned "unerringly to draw, unerringly and enduringly to paint."[1] Ruskin missed him in his early studies, but when he found him, Luini became a subject of special study and fondest praise. He calls him a "Puritan worshipper of beauty," and regards his pictures as "the realisation of ideas," with delicate types of beauty and deep religious truthfulness.[2] "Every touch he lays is eternal, every thought he conceives is beautiful and pure: his hand moves always in radiance of blessing; from day to day his life enlarges in power and peace; it passes away cloudlessly, the starry twilight remaining arched far against the night."[3]

26. The "painter of the beauty of Christ," as he has been named, Luini[4] painted some of the finest pictures of the Mother and Child that the world has seen. His Madonnas are the "culmination of Italian grace,"[5] with sweet loveliness, intelligence, and charm, and without the mere prettiness or coquettishness of the pleasure-loving Venetians.[6] Luini, also, has painted two pictures of the youth of Christ which are of great beauty and grace, though they belong to the second period in the master's career and are only on the borderland of the years in which he revealed himself in all the splendour of his

[1] Ruskin's *Works*, xix. 130–131.

[2] *Ibid.* xx. 80, xxiv. 362, xix. 130, xxiii. 156. [3] *Ibid.* xix. 130.

[4] Born at Luino, on the shores of the Lago Maggiore, about A.D. 1470, died about 1533, in Lugano. But compare Dr. Williamson's *Luini*, p. 3.

[5] Ruskin, xxiii. 108.

[6] See his "Madonna and Child," in the Wallace Collection; the "Madonna of the Rose," in the Brera, Milan; his "Head of Virgin," in the Ambrosiana, Milan; and Holy Families, Buda Pesth.

creative sweetness and power. Both pictures show marked traces of Leonardo's influence and are really Leonardo's Christ-face spiritualised. The first is in the Ambrosiana, Milan, and gives us Christ in the attitude of blessing, His right hand lifted in approved symbolic fashion, His body slightly turned, His gold hair falling in ringlets on His shoulders, His youthful face radiantly kind and peaceful, and His large melting eyes looking clear at one with haunting sweetness and winning love.[1] The second is in our National Gallery, London, "Christ disputing with the Pharisees," the same face, a little older but still youthful, with the same grace and charm.[2] Facing the spectator and looking straight out of the picture, this youthful Christ is ticking off on His fingers the points of His argument, while four strong-faced Pharisees stand round Him, two on either side, each powerfully painted.[3] Both pictures have a fine sense of the purity and sincerity of Christ, His radiant spiritual grace as well as His physical charm, and both inspire deep devotional feeling.

27. Beside these should be compared the Christ of Luini in the Louvre and in London,[4] the Paris picture bearded, the London unbearded and probably a study for the more famous picture in the National Gallery. But it is in Lugano that we must seek Luini's supreme triumph as a master-painter, in the "Crucifixion" on the walls of S. Maria degli Angioli. Painted on the screen as

[1] Dr. Williamson's *Luini*, p. 39. See our illustration.

[2] Till recently attributed to Leonardo. See another "Christ among the Doctors," in S. Maria, Soronno, beautifully reproduced in Mrs. Ady's fine book, *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

[3] Compare the face of the Roman-nosed Pharisee on Christ's left with Titian's Pharisee in "The Tribute Money."

[4] "Christ Teaching," once in the collection of the late Misses Cohen, Brighton, and bequeathed to the National Gallery, No. 2088.

Luini's conception of the Passion of Christ, it contains several hundred figures. Seen for the first time, Ruskin pronounced this Crucifixion "for all religious art qualities the greatest picture south of the Alps—or rather in Europe."[1] Seen later, he went into raptures at "the simple boldness and grandeur of the composition, and the fire and feeling of execution."[2] Later still, observing that its bigness overtaxed Luini's skill, and that Luini could not paint *violent* passion ("As deep as you like, but not stormy"), Ruskin declares that it is, with all these drawbacks, "the greatest rendering of the Catholic conception of the Passion existing in the world; nor is there any other picture in Italy," he adds, "deserving to rank with it, except Michael Angelo's 'Last Judgment'; no other contends with it, even, in qualities of drawing and expression—and for my part, I would give the whole Sistine Chapel for the small upper corner of this, with the 'Infidelity of S. Thomas' and the 'Ascension.'"[3] Dr. Williamson, however, points out, what most will feel, that, with all its marvellous beauty and triumph, the picture is too crowded, and that "even the air is so full of winged spirits that the dignity of the Crucified One is impaired, and the Cross with its Divine Burden loses the prominence that should attach to it."[4] With all this, however, Luini has painted a picture of the "Crucifixion" that must be studied, and though, with many masters, one could wish Luini had given us a picture of Christ alone, a Christ Crucified as we see Him alone in our hearts, with the crowds gone and the Sufferer only nigh, one

[1] *Works*, xix. 58. [2] *Ibid.* xxxiv. 725.

[3] *Ibid.* xxxvi. 579.

[4] See his excellent study, *Luini*, p. 78. The Mary Magdalene here, and in the fresco (Pietà) at Milan, is a very beautiful and eloquent piece of painting.

feels that here is a masterpiece that the world must study and Ruskin praise right well.

28. In Milan, also, are a number of early frescoes from the hand of Luini, including "Christ crowned with Thorns," "Christ Scourged," "Ecce Homo," Crucifixion," and "Pietà." The "Pietà" is regarded by Dr. Williamson as the most important of the series.[1] Two of these frescoes specially commended themselves to Ruskin.[2] In 1862 we find him writing to Burne-Jones to come and sketch the two Christs for him, promising "ever so many cwt. of candles" for the purpose.[3] Burne-Jones did sketch them, and has given us a humorous account of the process in his letters: "Ruskin, by treacherous smiles and winning courtesies and delicate tips, has wheedled the very candlesticks off the altar for my use, and the saint's table and everything that was his, and I draw every day now by the light of eight altar candles."[4] The "pure pale Christ" of the "Ecce Homo" was a great joy to Ruskin's heart.[5] The face of the Christ scourged, and sinking when unbound from the pillar, is to me exquisitely painted.[6] Every touch is eternal, every thought beautiful and pure. It is one of the saddest yet most joyous triumphs of the Golden Noon.

[1] *Luini*, p. 17. See beautiful reproduction of "Ecce Homo" now in Museum, Milan, in *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*, p. 210.

[2] In the Monastero Maggiore (or San Maurizio), *Works*, xxxvi. 410.

[3] *Works*, xxxvi. 410.

[4] *Memorials of Burne-Jones*, vol. i. p. 248.

[5] *Works*, xxxvi. 464, in left-hand chapel of S. Ambrogio.

[6] To Mrs. Jenner (*Christ in Art*, p. 119) this is one of the few absolutely beautiful figures of Christ, combining beauty of line and spiritual significance. To me, this is true of the face only; the pose of the sinking figure is far from pleasing.

CHAPTER SEVEN

# THE CHRIST OF THE FAR-SPREAD LIGHT: LATE RENAISSANCE

## SYNOPSIS

1. The far-spread light.
2. Lorenzi di Credi, Piero di Cosimo, and Fra Bartolommeo.
3. Fra Bartolommeo's "Last Judgment."
4. Andrea del Sarto's "Last Supper."
5. Other pictures by Andrea.
6. Pontormo, Bronzino, and Albertinelli.
7. Sodoma's "Christ at the Column."
8. His beautiful "Christ bearing His Cross."
9. His "Deposition" and other pictures.
10. Francia of Bologna.
11. Cima da Conegliano.
12. Lorenzo Lotto and his vision of sorrow.
13. His "Dead Christs."
14. Sebastiano Luciani, *alias* "Piombo."
15. Jacopo da Ponte surnamed "Bassano."
16. Paolo Caliari, commonly called "Paul Veronese."
17. His "Baptism" and "Wedding at Cana."
18. His pictures of Christ as Healer.
19. His "Crucifixion," "Deposition," and "Risen Christ."
20. Tintoretto, or the "Little Dyer": his greatness.
21. His attitude to religion and poetry.
22. His Christ-pictures in San Rocco.
23. His beautiful "Christ before Pilate."
24. His "Christ on the Way to Calvary."
25. His famous "Crucifixion": opinions.
26. Its significance in art and its appeal.
27. Other works by Tintoretto.

The Redeemer.

*Andrea Del Sarto.*

*Photograph by Alinari.*

*Page* 181.

The Redeemer.

Andrea Del Sarto.

Photograph by Alinari.

Page 181.

Christ at the Column.

*Sodoma.*

*Photograph by Alinari.* *Page* 184.

Christ at the Column.

Vedoma.

Photograph by Alinari.

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# CHAPTER VII THE CHRIST OF THE FAR-SPREAD LIGHT: LATE RENAISSANCE

NOT to these great men only did the sun come in his beauty, but to many others in that great day of art. Not so great, perhaps, as the world counts greatness, they too gave of their best to Christ; and, surely, He received it. Beginning with Florence, then passing south to Siena, we propose now to follow the light northward through Bologna to Venice, taking only the work of the men of mark, men who wrought in the glory of the far-spread light and saw something of the beauty of Christ. From Fra Bartolommeo to Tintoretto, "the last of the seers of Venice," the golden light will lead us, and great will be our joy if we have hearts to hold their vision.

2. Lorenzo di Credi[1] and Piero di Cosimo[2] must first be named, though they have given us few pictures of the Son of Man. Like many others in the golden light, they painted the Madonna and Child again and again, but were little drawn to paint the crowded years of toil or the tragic hours of death. Credi painted a "Noli me Tangere" twice,[3] and Piero a "Pietà."[4] With Fra Bartolommeo (Baccio della Porta), the pupil of Piero, it was otherwise. Influenced was he by Leonardo and Michael Angelo, and, still more, by the preaching of Savonarola. Like Botticelli, the Robbias, Credi, Michael Angelo, and many another,

[1] A.D. 1456–1537, pupil of Verrocchio.

[2] A.D. 1462–1521, pupil of Cosimo Rosselli; influenced by Verrocchio, Signorelli, Filippino, Leonardo, and Lorenzo di Credi, and master of Fra Bartolommeo.

[3] Now in the Uffizi (1311) and in Paris (1264).

[4] Tondo, now in Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Baccio della Porta felt the heat of the flames that fired the great preacher's heart, and bent himself to the passion of his will. Drinking in the spirit of Savonarola, and lifting his life to his great ideals, Baccio beheld with amazement the martyrdom of his hero, and left the world and art for the cloister, with weary and desolate heart. In the Convent of S. Mark they named him Fra Bartolommeo. Later, when peace returned to his heart, he took to painting again, and enriched the Church with many a noble work of art.[1] A man with a delicate, refined, and graceful spirit, and with a painter's feeling for the beautiful in men and nature, what with the whirlwind influence of Michael Angelo and the flaming zeal of Savonarola, the noble Baccio forsook himself as well as his art, and has not the kingdom to-day that else had been his.[2] In art as in life, the greatest contribution to honour is a man's own God-given personality, and if that be left at the call of any man, however great, however good, the world is always the loser.

> "This above all, to thine own self be true;
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man."

3. Fra Bartolommeo, however, has given us enough not only to long for more but to glory in his tribute to Christ.[3] In the Pitti, Florence, is his famous "Ecce Homo," "Christ and Four Evangelists," and a beautiful "Deposition." The

[1] There can be little doubt that Savonarola's influence on art generally was no great gain. He was all for art for religion's sake only. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History*, iii. 402 ff.

[2] Compare Berenson's *Florentine Painters*, p. 77.

[3] His paintings of the infant years include many Madonnas and Holy Families. See the "Madonna in Landscape" in National Gallery, London, the "Madonna Misericordia" in Lucca, and the "Nativity" in Mr. Bond's Collection. See also the reproductions in Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

Christ of the "Ecce Homo" is in fresco, the head like the "Dead Christ" in the Academy,[1] the face mild and delicate. In the Christ with four disciples we see the Redeemer, high and lifted up, raising His right hand to bless, while in His left hand is a staff headed with a globe surmounted by a cross, symbol of world-dominion. The face of this Christ is beautiful, tender, and winning. It is painted with delicate spiritual charm and pure religious devotion, and is a vision wherewith to gladden the heart and cheer it with faith.[2] The same type of face is painted in the "Deposition," surely one of the world's masterpieces, in its conception and treatment, of this sad scene. In the Uffizi Gallery his famous "Last Judgment" may be seen, first painted for the cloister-cemetery of S. Maria Nuova, Florence, shortly after the death of Savonarola. It is the solitary link between the "Judgments" of Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, Fra Filippo, and Ghirlandajo, and those of the sixteenth century, the sole link between the old masters and Raphael.[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle declare that the merit of this picture is so great that it "raised the level of Italian art a step higher than it was before, and left nothing but the very last polish to be given by Raphael." Ruskin, however, regards it as a failure, and compares it unfavourably with the "Judgment" of Tintoretto: "Fra Bartolommeo, never able to grapple with any species of sublimity except that of simple religious feeling, fails most signally in this mighty theme."[4] In this, however, he scarcely does justice to Fra Bartolommeo. The picture is Leonardesque in many ways,

[1] Florence.

[2] Painted the year before his death. He died, aged forty-two (A.D. 1475–1517). Compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Italy*, iii. 424.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 402–404. [4] Compare *Works*, iv. p. 276 and Introduction.

and certainly exercised great influence on the art of young Raphael.[1] Passion and beauty of form and colour, figure and sky, are all here, while the Christ is gentle and pitiful as heart could wish. Other Christ-pictures by Fra Bartolommeo include the "Christ at Emmaus" painted in Savonarola's cell at S. Mark's; a "Noli me Tangere" at Pian di Mugnone, and a "Noli me Tangere" at Paris.

4. In Andrea del Sarto we have an artist who had great skill, and achieved much, but lost the highest from lack of spiritual feeling. The tragedy of his life is analysed for us in Browning's poem "Andrea del Sarto," and shows his consciousness of failure. To Lucrezia he says—

> "Had you given me soul,
> We might have risen to Raphael, I and you!"

But, with all Lucrezia's vanities and shortcomings, she gave him all he asked, and it was in Andrea's own soul, with its quest for flesh rather than spirit, the deep tragedy lay. If Lucrezia made no "lyric love" in his life or inspired his art as Vittoria Colonna did the great Michael Angelo's, it must be owned Andrea's life was not absorbed in spiritual reverie, was quite content, indeed, with domestic and human love, devotion to his wife and art, and seldom went in quest of the heavenly vision. "Thus," as Berenson says, "by constantly sacrificing first spiritual and then material significance to pose and draperies, Andrea loses all feeling for the essentials in art."[2] Not always, however, but in-

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 405. The picture was finished by Mariotto Albertinelli: the good friar shrank from painting the pain and anguish of the damned, but delighted in the joy of the redeemed. Compare, also, a good little book, *Fra Bartolommeo*, by M. E. James, 1902.

[2] *Florentine Painters*, p. 80. Compare his "Assumption," the "Madonna of the Harpies" (reproduced in colour in Konody's *Uffizi Gallery*, 148), and Scalzo frescoes (*Florentine Painters*, p. 81).

creasingly as the spiritual in him was subordinated to the things he asked of life. Greatest of all his frescoes from our view-point is his "Last Supper," in S. Salvi, Florence, the one "Supper" that can be looked at with pleasure after Leonardo's, thinks Berenson himself.[1] It is a brilliant achievement, with lovely colour, fine drawing, and pleasing arrangement. The moment chosen by Andrea is that in which Christ tells His astonished disciples that one of them shall betray Him, and each begins to ask the question, "Lord, is it I?" We are told that the beauty of this marvellous creation saved it from destruction during the siege of Florence (1529–30), when the soldiers who would have razed the convent to the ground stopped spellbound as they burst into the refectory and were confronted by the noble drama which Andrea's brush had so vividly portrayed.[2] Even here, however, is seen Andrea's lack of the spiritual. The figures are portraits and lacking in refinement. The Lord Himself does not suggest supreme ideals of goodness or depth of noble thought, and lacks the spiritual charm and beauty of Leonardo's famous Christ.

5. In the chapel of Annunziata, Florence, there is a head of the Redeemer by Andrea that is much admired. It is charming in its beauty and simplicity, its colour and grace, and the folded hands with the mark of the nails make a true and deep appeal; but again we look in vain for the spiritual touch. In the Academy[3] is a "Dead Christ," a "Deposition" in the Pitti Palace, and a "Noli me Tangere" in the Uffizi. In Vienna, also, is a Pietà. Lucrezia appears in most of these paintings, and in many

[1] This "Last Supper," partly reproduced, in oil, may be seen at Christ Church, Oxford. See our illustration of his "Redeemer."

[2] *Andrea del Sarto*, by H. Guinness, 1899. [3] Florence.

of the Holy Families and Madonnas Andrea painted. There was a touch of egotism and pride in Andrea that made him paint himself and his wife again and again, held him to earth, and led him to lose the trail.[1]

6. Pontormo, the pupil of Andrea, painted a "Christ before Pilate," a "Deposition," "Pietà," and "Christ at Emmaus," but they need not detain us.[2] Bronzino, the pupil of Pontormo, painted a "Dead Christ," "Descent from the Cross," and "Christ in Limbo," but he was merely a portrait-painter.[3] Mariotto Albertinelli,[4] the friend and partner of Fra Bartolommeo, finished the "Last Judgment" begun by Baccio in 1499. He is a second "Fra Bartolommeo," being content to follow closely in his wake, yet an artist of great merit. His "Crucifixion," at Certosa, is worthy of careful study. It has spiritual beauty and reserve and much that is suggestive of triumphant thought and radiant faith. Mark the flowers blooming at the foot of the Cross, even beside the skull and bones. The figure of Christ is beautifully painted, and the background is worthy of Perugino. Indeed, the whole picture should be compared with Perugino's masterly "Crucifixion," though its triumph is marred somewhat by the angels and the pose of the figures in the foreground. A beautiful "Trinity," with as fair a Christ as one could wish to see, is now in the Academy, Florence.[5] The frescoes of Franciabigo, pupil of

[1] He died of the plague, Jan. 1531, aged 46. See some of his beautiful Madonnas in the Uffizi, Prado, and elsewhere. Compare Mrs. Ady's *Painters of Florence*, with reproduction, pp. 318–320.

[2] A.D. 1494–1556. Now in Certosa, near Florence, and in S. Felicità and the Academy, Florence.

[3] A.D. about 1502–1572. All may be seen in the Uffizi, and a "Noli me Tangere" in Paris.

[4] A.D. 1474–1515.

[5] See reproductions of these in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 442–443.

Albertinelli and friend of Andrea, in the cloisters of the Scalzo should be seen. They are in Andrea's manner, and represent the "Baptism" and "Meeting of Christ and Baptist." He has also a "Last Supper" in La Calza, Florence.[1]

7. Passing south to Siena, we note now the honoured name of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, commonly known as Il Sodoma, or "Sodoma."[2] A Lombardian, born at Vercelli, in Piedmont, son of a shoemaker, it was in Siena he came to his kingdom.[3] A great artist, a "wild, careless, erratic genius," the inequalities of his work are the "despair even of his warmest admirers." He passed through stage after stage of varied greatness, and has long lain under the cloud of shame of his ill-famed nickname "Sodoma."[4] Morelli and his latest biographer, Mr. R. H. H. Cust, fully recognise the low morals of his day with its all too common practices of shame, but maintain that no evidence can be produced to substantiate the damning insinuations of Vasari. Whatever his life, there can be little doubt that the title of shame is now a name of honour, and one feels in the presence of Sodoma's great works that the man could not have been so bad as he is painted.[5] Chief among these are a great many beautiful Madonnas and Holy Families[6] and a large number of

[1] A.D. 1482–1525.

[2] Leo X. gave him the title of "Cavalier of Christ."

[3] A.D. 1477–1549.

[4] See Mr. R. H. H. Cust's beautiful monograph, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi*, p. 14. He repudiates the common idea that "Sodoma" is a nickname of shame (pp. 10–22), as stated by Vasari.

[5] "Happily," says Swinburne, "the beauty of his work is no such open question, so that the name matters little enough" (*Essays and Studies*, p. 350, note).

[6] See his beautiful Madonnas in the Casino Borghese, Rome, and in the Richter Collection, London, and the very beautiful "Holy Family" in the Palazzo Borghese, Rome.

pictures of the manhood years. Most beautiful of all is his "Christ at the Column," now in the Academy, Siena.[1] Originally painted on the wall of the Franciscan convent, Siena, it was long neglected, ill-used, whitewashed, despised, till it was sawn from its place above a well and removed to its present hall of honour (A.D. 1842). The Christ of this picture is one of haunting beauty and triumphant originality. The pose of His body as He stands at the Column, bound to it by cruel cords, is natural and winning. The turn of the thorn-crowned Head and the look of His sorrowful, pitiful eyes are marvellous in their simplicity and power. They follow one throughout the years and draw one to His side. To stand there, however beaten and scourged, is not to be beaten or put to shame. His greatness and kingliness, His goodness and gentleness, are painted with sure hand and wonderful charm. Away through the Roman arch the world lies fair and calm, kissed by the peace of God; and the Sufferer against that background is bathed in a peace that knows no scourging and dreams no failure. Compared with many paintings of this subject, painful in their lack of reserve, this lonely Figure against that peaceful sky is a triumph indeed. Sometimes, when one looks at paintings of the Christ in His agony, faith frowns and rings its challenge against the heedless skies. But here, one can look on this Christ of the Cavalier Sodoma, and sing with Browning—

> "The year's at the spring
> And day's at the morn;
> Morning's at seven;
> The hill-side's dew-pearled;
> The lark's on the wing;
> The snail's on the thorn;
> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world!"[2]

[1] See our illustration.

[2] *Pippa Passes*, Part I., "Morning."

Sodoma painted the same subject with many other frescoes in the Convent of Monte Oliveto. There is a "Flagellation," too, in the Academy, Buda Pesth, and both variations of the theme are worthy of careful study.

8. Equally beautiful, almost, is Sodoma's "Christ bearing His Cross," in the Convent of Monte Oliveto. This and the "Christ at the Column" are painted on either side of an arch leading from the cloister, companion pictures of great charm. Seen even in Mr. Cust's beautiful reproduction, this is a Christ that must be studied again and again. And to study it is to love it, and wonder at the power of the man who painted it. We place it beside Giorgione's brilliant treatment of the same theme, and shall always carry it with his next our heart. The subject is repeated in a panel, now in the Church of S. Giacomo, Siena, a work of fifteen life-size figures, much darkened, and supposed to have been Sodoma's last work.[1]

9. His "Deposition from the Cross" is still more famous, magnificent in colour and power if conventional in treatment.[2] The groups around the Cross are beautifully painted, and the swooning Virgin and lovely Magdalene demand attention. The Central Figure is powerfully painted, and the background, against which stands the empty Cross, has all the charm of Perugino.[3]

[1] See, also, "The Way to the Cross" in the Villa Griccioli, Siena, and in the Academy, Buda Pesth. Also panel in the Collection of Count Costa de Beauregard, Chambéry.

[2] Now in the Academy, Siena, Room X.

[3] Beside these works Sodoma painted many other pictures of the Passion. See his "Kiss of Judas," in the Academy, Puda Pesth; his "Last Supper," a much-damaged fragment, in the Convent of Monte Oliveto, Florence; his "Agony in the Garden," in Siena Academy; his "Ecce Homo," in the Uffizi, and its replica in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and a panel in the Collection of Lord Methuen, Corsham

10. Passing by Peruzzi, a Sienese artist who did his best work in Rome, as architect and decorator, but painted few pictures of the Christ,[1] we take wing and come to one of the famous men of Northern Italy, Francesco Raibolini, commonly called Francia.[2] The ablest of the artists of Bologna, a goldsmith of great reputation, one of his earliest paintings is the "Crucifixion," in the Archiginnasio Library of his own city. It is stiff and angular, but the face of the Crucified is beautiful—much more beautiful than the Christ Crucified in the Gozzadini predella. In the Bologna Gallery is the famous altarpiece of S. Martino Maggiore, with a charming little painting of "Christ bearing His Cross" (in a tiny frame at the foot of the altarpiece) and a lovely "Pietà" (in a larger frame at the top

Court; his Pietàs, painted nine times at least—namely, a panel in Academy, Siena; fresco in the Casa Bambagini Galletti commonly called the "Madonna del Corvo," much injured; fresco in Convent of S. Anna in Creta, Pienza, over the entrance door, in good condition; one in the Palazzo Borghese, Rome, much darkened by time; a panel in Stockholm, which resembles the Frizzoni Magdalene; one lately in Brussels but bought by Duc d'Aremberg, 1904; and a "Dead Christ" supported by the Virgin and adored by the Magdalene, in Church of S. Tomaso, Milan, and "Dead Christ" supported by two angels, in Dr. Richter's Collection, London; a "Descent into Limbo," Academy, Siena; "Entombment," Pisa Cathedral; "Resurrection" fresco, Palazzo Pubblico (Sala del Sindaco), Siena, and a panel of same in Museum, Naples; "Christ appearing to His Mother after His Resurrection," in Bologna; "Ascension," in Castello di Trequanda, cruelly injured; "Head of Christ," in Pienza, and one in National Gallery, London. Whatever his character, Sodoma loved to paint the Christ. It should be added that the unfinished Christ of the famous cartoon, generally attributed to Leonardo, is by some attributed to Sodoma.

[1] He was much influenced by Pinturicchio and Sodoma, and his frescoes of S. M. della Pace are compared with those of Raphael in the Sistine. See his "Christ Crowning His Mother," reproduced by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii. 369.

[2] A.D. 1450–1517. See his "Madonna of the Rose Garden," in *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art.*

of the altarpiece). In Dresden and in Hampton Court there are "Baptisms" by Francia, but it is by the great altarpiece in the National Gallery, London, he is best known. Painted for the Buonvisi Chapel in the Church of S. Frediano, Lucca, the lunette, with its noble painting of the Dead Christ supported by His mother and two angels, is beautiful beyond speech. "There is no finer representation of the dread scene to be found in the whole range of Italian art," says his latest biographer. "There is nothing in which pathos and sublimity are so happily blended, and in which there are no distracting elements to be considered."[1] Simple and reticent, sincere and noble, the picture is a triumph of spiritual faith and artistic achievement. The long strain of the Passion, the terrible marks of the tragedy, are not painted here. Death has come to the Christ, but with her quiet hand she has wiped away the blood and smoothed out the wrinkles of pain. On His face a great peace has fallen, and on His lips there lies a great stillness. No line in the picture mars the peace, no action breaks the stillness. The kneeling, adoring angels bear themselves as spirits that know that all is well, that the Dead has nobly conquered. The Mother, too, is not torn with grief, as she holds her Son on her knee. The angel at His head almost smiles, and the Mother, though a sword has pierced her heart, is able to bear her Burden. A picture this with which to hallow death, and conquer.[2]

[1] See Dr. Williamson's valuable monograph, *Francia*, p. 113. Compare this "Pietà" with that in Turin Gallery and the "Deposition" in Parma Gallery, both spoiled by the action or pose of some unnecessary figure. See our illustration.

[2] See, also, his long-lost lunette and Crucifixion in *Francia's Masterpiece*, by Montgomery Carmichael (1909), pp. 6 and 8.

# THE CHRIST OF THE

11. Passing north, we come to Venice, the "Queen of the Adriatic," a city that bore many painters and enriched the world with a joyous sense of colour and gorgeous pageants of beauty. Two great painters of Venice, Giorgione and Titian, we have already seen in the blaze of the Golden Noon. Other two now demand attention, Paul Veronese the great feaster, and Tintoretto the Little Dyer. A few of the lesser Venetians, however, should first be noticed. Chief among these is Cima da Conegliano, a simple and serious man, "not supreme in any artistic quality," says Ruskin, yet "occasionally attaining to great nobility," says Morelli.[1] Good and praiseworthy in all his pictures, his "Incredulity of Thomas" is specially praised by Ruskin as "an entirely sincere and noble picture of the central epoch." It is now in the National Gallery, London. In Dresden Museum may be seen his "Christ in Benediction"; in Modena, a "Pietà"; in the Palladium, Venice, a "Pietà," and "Christ with Thomas"; and in S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, his well-known "Baptism of our Lord." While he is sincere, Cima has none of the chastened power of the later Venetians, and is too early, as well as too shallow, to feel the throb of the pain of the things that were lacking in the new life of Venice.

12. With the spread of the light and the passing of its golden hours, men became aware that the passions for knowledge, and glory, and personal advancement were not

[1] Giovanni Battista, *circa* A.D. 1460–1517. Compare Ruskin's *Works*, xxiv. 157, and Morelli's *Italian Painters*, 277. The name Cima was given him because of his love of painting his native town. A pupil of Giovanni Bellini, he is a careful draughtsman, but not dramatic, and with little originality. He did not go on learning and improving, hence much sameness.

all. Life holds deeper things, and with the passing of the years and a vision of sorrow came the sense of need and the longing for Heaven's consolations. Florence and Rome discovered this suddenly, with a shock.[1] Venice discovered it later. Sheltered from the pains that overtook the rest of Italy, not so sorely bitten by the Turk or overrun by Spanish troops, life was still worth living by the waters of the Adriatic. Yet a little stoicism and earnest thought came early to the Queen of the Seas, and kept Venice true to the ripened and chastened spirit that came with the passing of the Golden Noon. But the sense of pain had yet to come and the hope of Christ to meet the deepest needs of life. Summer religion would have its day; but Autumn with her mists, and Winter with her snows, were sure to come, even to Venice.[2] To Lorenzo Lotto, a travelled Venetian, who had seen the miseries of Italy in a way not possible to one living in sheltered Venice, came the first stab of pain. The blood of the agony may be seen in his pictures. The triumph of man over his environment is not painted by Lotto, but men and women in need of the consolations of religion, sober thought, friendship and affection. In his altarpieces, and even more in his portraits, says Berenson, "they look out from his canvases as if begging for sympathy."[3] In Titian and Tintoretto, even more, this deepening of life may be seen, the broken majesty of man facing the dark, and calling for the consolations of Heaven.

13. A pupil of Alvise Vivarini, influenced by Giovanni

[1] "In the presence of M. Angelo's 'Last Judgment,'" says Berenson, "we still hear the cry of anguish that went up as the inexorable truth dawned upon them."

[2] Compare on all this Berenson's *Venetian Painters*, pp. 41–44.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 43.

# THE CHRIST OF THE

Bellini and Giorgione, Lorenzo Lotto passed from the song of the lark on an April morning and the fragrance of the rose on a June day to the mist and rain of chill October.[1] Look at his altarpiece in Treviso,[2] with its sad and thoughtful Mother and its desolate Dead Christ, and you will feel that all is not well. Even the angels who support the Dead Christ are stricken with woe: one turns away her head in sorrow, unable to look on His face; the other hides her tears by pressing her face against His cold shoulder. The Christ's head, thrown back and limp, reveals the extremity of agony. The same desolation of death is painted in his polyptych in Venice, in all four panels, and in none more than in the panel of the "Dead Christ."[3] This is death, and no spiritualised counterfeit of the fearful fact. Even the angel Gabriel is not able to produce a smile; and Lotto seems to tell us that the way to life is in recognising the fact of facts, and not by glossing it over. The angels of God are present, however, present even in death, and therein lies our painter's evangel and hope. However bitter the fact, and however sobering the sorrow, Heaven will not leave us comfortless. The same touch and the same hope appear again in his great "Entombment" at Jesi.[4] The movement is not only dramatic, but passionate to the last degree, as Berenson says.[5] The colouring and landscape remind one of Perugino, and the baby-angels in the sky are distinctly reminiscent of Raphael. Compare also his sad picture, "Christ taking leave of His Mother," in Berlin, with its dramatic painting of human sorrow, and its affectionate, feeling Christ, and then look at

[1] A.D. 1480–1556.
[2] Santa Cristina.
[3] San Giovanni e Paolo.
[4] Library, from San Floriano.
[5] See his excellent monograph, *Lorenzo Lotto*, p. 105.

his "Mourning for Christ," in the Brera, Milan, and know that Lorenzo Lotto faced death and saw the waters of life turn bitter in the sheltered city of Venice.[1]

14. A man of a different type was Sebastiano Luciani, commonly called Piombo.[2] The pupil of Giovanni Bellini, Cima, and Giorgione, he came under the influence of Michael Angelo, and wrought with him against Raphael at Rome and elsewhere. A great colourist, with Giorgione's sense of beauty, one of Piombo's earliest works was his "Incredulity of Thomas," in S. Niccolò, Treviso. Later, coming to Rome, Piombo entered into league with Angelo to drive Raphael from his throne. To this end Michael Angelo designed for Piombo the "Pietà" at Viterbo and the "Transfiguration" and "Flagellation" in S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome. The extraordinary beauty of the colouring, and the grandeur of Michael Angelo's designs in these ill-famed frescoes, were the objects of universal wonder and applause. A greater triumph still for the scheming pair was the "Raising of Lazarus," painted for the Cathedral of Narbonne, and now in the National Gallery, London. Composed and designed by Michael Angelo to rob Raphael of the glory of his "Transfiguration," this picture was hailed with admiration by the crowds of Rome, and

[1] Other Christ-pictures by Lotto include a "Pietà" in Milan; "Christ and the Adulteress," in the Louvre, Paris, Loreto, and elsewhere, with a beautiful, pitiful, typical Christ, well worth seeing; "Christ on the Cross," in Milan (Borromeo) and in Monte S. Giusto; "Transfiguration," in Recanati (Municipio); "Entombment," in Bergamo (Carrara Gallery), "one of the most romantic treatments of the subject in existence" (Berenson); "The Trinity" and "Deposition," Bergamo (S. Alessandro), etc. etc. See, also, his pretty "Annunciation" in Recanati, with its Rossetti-like Mary, and many of his lovely, thoughtful Madonnas.

[2] From the office of Keeper of the Leaden Seals bestowed on him by Pope Clement VII. Born at Venice A.D. 1485, died *circa* 1547. Compare article on Luciani in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*.

praised to the sky. There can be little doubt of its great merits, its fine composition, its lovely colouring, its beautiful Christ, and charming Mary. But one looks on it with a sense of tragedy. For was not its painting the death of Raphael, and did not its envious compact drive him to work in fever, and so put out the golden light of genius on the very threshold of his brilliant career?

15. Jacopo da Ponte, surnamed Bassano, the most distinguished member of that artistic family and town, claims attention not only for his own sake, but for his influence on a greater still.[1] Trained under his father at Bassano, then under Bonifazio Veronese at Venice, he came later under the powerful influence of Titian, and himself became a great force in the life of Velasquez. Inspired by the love of country life and love of nature, Bassano gave to Bible pictures a modern setting, with men and scenes from his own loved town and countryside. His painting of simple country life appealed strongly to the growing hunger in the heart of the pleasure-loving Venetians, and found great favour among lovers of art. His treatment of light and atmosphere and his handling of real life was even more masterly, thinks Berenson, than Titian's and Tintoretto's.[2] Living in the country, he painted direct from nature, with great truth and charm, and was, in fact, "the first modern landscape painter."[3] All these traits find expression in his Christ-pictures. One of his finest is the "Good Samaritan," now in the National Gallery, where also is his "Christ and

[1] A.D. 1510–1592. [2] *Venetian Painters*, p. 69.

[3] *Ibid.* 69. Others—Titian, Tintoretto, Giorgione—had painted beautiful landscapes, but they were seldom direct studies from nature. They were decorative backgrounds, and very effective as such. But Bassano was the first Italian to paint the country as it really is, and not arranged to make a background merely.

**Pietà.**

*Francia.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

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Francis.

Brief.

The Marriage at Cana.

*Veronese.*

*Photograph by Alinari.*

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The Marriage at Cana.

Veronese.

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Christ before Pilate.

*Tintoretto.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

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Christ before Pilate.

Tintoretto.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

Page 200.

the Money-Changers." Both subjects are repeated in Vienna. It is pretty generally admitted that Bassano's masterpiece is the "Adoration of the Magi," now in the National Gallery of Scotland. It is a work of singular beauty and charm, with lovely colouring, and a sweet Mother and Child.[1]

16. In Paolo Veronese, of the family of Caliari, we have not only one of the four great Venetians but one of the greatest painters ever born. Son of a third-rate sculptor and pupil of a fourth-rate painter,[2] Paul of Verona is put by Ruskin in the first four of the world's great painters.[3] Without going so far, most critics acknowledge his greatness and his gorgeous sense of beauty. The fashions of his day are reflected in the painted feasts of Paul, as well as his great powers of illustration, his love of beautiful colour, his swiftness of expression, and his sense of the picturesque.[4] Cheerful and frankly worldly in life and art, he is wholesome, simple, and sincere, though lacking in power to paint the deepest spiritual emotions and the tragic thoughts of the soul regarding Christ. This combination of seemingly opposite qualities forms his great charm for men to-day, though one cannot help wishing the tragedy of Christ and

[1] In his native town will be found his "Christ and the Adulteress" and his vision of "Paradise." In Cittadella there is a "Christ at Emmaus." In Hampton Court, "Christ in the House of the Pharisee," "Tribute Money." In Munich is a "Deposition from the Cross," showing strongly the influence of Titian. In Padua, an "Entombment"; Paris, "Christ bearing His Cross"—repeated in Vienna; Rome, "Last Supper"; Venice Academy, "Christ in Garden"; and in Vienna, beside above, "Way to Golgotha," "Deposition," etc.

[2] Antonio Badile. Influenced, also, by Dom. Brusasorci. A.D. 1528–1588 are the dates of Paul's birth and death.

[3] *Works*, xii. 109.

[4] See his picturesque and beautiful "Annunciation" and "Adoration of the Magi," in the Escorial.

the pain of life had come to Verona, stabbed Paul's heart, and left the mark of blood on his pictures. Then, with his other great gifts, Christ had been gloriously painted by Paul of Verona.

17. Though a painter of the vast and a lover of the crowd, the high priest of wealth and magnificence, the swiftest, most graphic, most glowing apostle of the joy and glory of life, Paul Veronese could be simple and dramatic too, as anyone may see by looking at his "Baptism of Christ," in the Church of Il Redentore, Venice.[1] It is seldom, however, that he chose to be simple, and it is even doubted by some if this "Baptism" is rightly attributed to Paul. His heart is really in love with the magnificent, and Christ and His Apostles, and the sinners who are drawn to Him, are all magnificently dressed and gorgeously painted by Veronese. Taking only the Christ-pictures attributed to him by Berenson, all this is more than plain. "The Marriage at Cana," now in the Louvre, is a magnificent wedding feast, with over a hundred figures, a background of glorious columns and colonnades, and the wealth and splendour of life at every turn.[2] Christ sits in the centre of all this splendour, a beautiful and noble figure, but not the Christ of history or the Christ of the ages, and strangely out of place to many amid all this wealth and worldly glory. Yet it is only fair to say that Veronese never intended to caricature that simple feast,

[1] See Mrs. Bell's *Paolo Veronese*, p. 46. Berenson does not mention this picture. Other "Baptisms" by Paul are mentioned by Stearns in the Church of S. Sebastian and in the Brera (*Four Great Painters*, pp. 312, 340). See, also, one in the Pitti, Florence.

[2] The picture was painted at a furious rate, a hundred figures in little over a year, swifter than M. Angelo's "Last Judgment." Brought to Paris by Napoleon. In the musical group in front of Christ are portraits of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese himself. See our illustration, detail only.

but gave to Christ the tribute of all the wealth he could imagine. Later, he wished to paint a "Paradise," in which Christ should be offered by the saints in glory all the most beautiful and most precious things of the world in vessels of silver and gold—his way of indicating, in terms of worldly pomp and wealth, the worth and glory of Christ.[1] Compare with this his gorgeous "Feast in the House of Levi," in the Academy, Venice.

18. The pity of Christ was painted by Veronese in his "Christ and the Centurion," now in Madrid, and in his "Christ at the House of Jairus," now in Vienna. The centurion and his company are in armour, and the usual background of columns and colonnades appears. The pleading face of the centurion asking His favour on bended knee is excellent, but the figure of Christ and the compassion of His heart are not so successfully expressed.[2] Mr. Stearns reckons a "Christ healing the Sick," in the Church of S. Zobenigo, "the noblest of all Paul's designs, and the noblest impersonation of Christ that he ever painted."[3] The setting is in the usual grand manner, but the Saviour moves among the throng with a keenly pitying, deeply penetrating look. "I am not aware of any other face of Christ," says Mr. Stearns, "which has such a spiritually penetrating expression. . . . It is not the Christ of the Transfiguration, or the pallid, suffering Christ to whom the sins of the world are a perpetual burden; but the

[1] This work was never finished. Another "Wedding Feast at Cana" may be seen in Dresden; Stearns, also, speaks of one in the Brera, Milan, and Academy, Florence; and of a "Supper at the House of Simon," in the Brera. Another such is in the Louvre.

[2] Other treatments of this subject are shown in Munich and in Dresden.

[3] *Four Great Venetians*, p. 349.

Christian Æsculapius, the healer of bodies as well as of souls."[1]

19. The "Crucifixion," by Veronese, in S. Sebastian, Venice, is his most successful approach to simplicity. It is a late work, and contains only four figures beside the Christ. Each one of them is dramatically painted, though Paul has not the sense of the tragic. The figure of the Christ and the faces of the three women at the foot of the exquisite Cross are beautifully painted, with great delicacy and charm; and yet one feels that the sword has not pierced the painter's soul, and the result is a lovely bit of scenic stage painting.[2] In Verona there is a "Deposition" attributed to Veronese, doubtfully, by Berenson, and he decides against the "Resurrection" in S. Francisco della Vigna, Venice, spoken of by Ruskin.[3] There is no doubt, however, about the lovely "Christ at Emmaus," in the Louvre, Paris. The grandeur of Paul is here also, and his abandoned joy in the sumptuous and sensuous, and yet what could be more beautiful than the face of this Christ? Historically the setting may be all wrong, and the treatment of the theme incongruous, but one can gaze upon that uplifted face with gladness and feel the rapture of a great spiritual tribute struggling for expression in the soul of Veronese. If only the world and the crowd, the pomp and magnificence of life, had not been so near him, and Veronese had been able to get

[1] *Four Great Venetians*, p. 349.

[2] Other "Crucifixions" are shown in Florence (Uffizi), Venice (Academy), Dresden (Royal Gallery), and Paris (Louvre). Stearns thinks that the Magdalene's face in the "Crucifixion" in S. Sebastian is one of the most beautiful in Venice, and that Correggio never modelled a human figure with greater delicacy than this Crucified Saviour (*Four Great Venetians*, p. 343).

[3] *Works*, xi. 379.

alone with Christ, we should have had a portrait fairer still.[1]

20. Jacopo Robusti, nicknamed Tintoretto,[2] is "the last of the seers of Venice." A man of great originality and independence, he fought his way to fame with skill and pluck that would not own defeat.[3] Greater as a man than Titian or Veronese, thinks Ruskin, he is reckoned one of the great painters of the world and the greatest man produced by Venice.[4] Born in Venice, he grew to manhood when the new thoughts and hopes of the Renaissance were bearing golden fruit. "In his youth," says Berenson, "people were once more turning to religion, and in Venice poetry was making its way more than it had previously done, not only because Venice had become the refuge of men of letters, but also because of the diffusion of printed books. Tintoretto took to the new feeling for religion and poetry as to his birthright. Yet whether classic fable or

[1] Mr. Stearns praises the "Christ in the Garden of Olives" mentioned by Ruskin (xi. 398). Of all the paintings by Veronese in the Brera this is reckoned by Stearns the most spiritually satisfying. Other Christ-pictures attributed by critics to Veronese are "Jesus disputing with the Doctors," in the Prado, Madrid; "The Magdalene laying aside her Jewels," National Gallery, London; "Christ bearing His Cross," Dresden Gallery (a beautiful Christ), and Louvre, Paris; "Christ in Glory," Sala del Collegio, Venice; etc. etc. Compare, also, his lovely "Annunciations," "Madonnas," and "Holy Families." Most of these pictures are reproduced in *Paolo Veronese*, Newnes' Art Library, an excellent series. For a "Feast at the House of Levi," painted for the nuns of Monte Berico, Veronese had to face the Inquisition, but happily escaped. See an account of this in book referred to, pp. xii–xiv, Introduction.

[2] A.D. 1518–1594. The son of a dyer, hence called "Il Tintoretto," the "Little Dyer."

[3] He showed his pictures in the streets of Venice by candlelight to arrest attention, and painted many frescoes in churches for little money, greedy for work. Hence his nickname "Il Furioso," the "Furious Worker."

[4] *Works*, iii. 181, xii. 109, xi. 413.

Biblical episode were the subject of his art, Tintoretto coloured it with his feeling for the human life at the heart of the story. His sense of power did not express itself in colossal nudes so much as in the immense energy, in the glowing health of the figures he painted, and more still in his effects of light, which he rendered as if he had it in his hands to brighten or darken the heavens at will and subdue them to his own moods."[1]

21. To Tintoretto religion and poetry were real, useful to man, bracing him to his tasks, and comforting him in his need. The Bible was no longer a mere document wherewith to justify Christian dogma. It was rather a series of parables and symbols pointing at all times to the path that led to a finer and nobler life. Christ and the Apostles were the embodiment of living principles and of living ideals. "So Tintoretto," says Berenson again, "did not hesitate to turn every Biblical episode into a picture of what the scene would look like had it taken place under his own eyes, or to tinge it with his own mood."[2] Hence Tintoretto painted many pictures of Christ, covering almost His whole life, more Christ-pictures than any other man of art almost, and always with the appeal they made to his modern heart and his Renaissance mind.[3] Hence, too, he broke from the habit of giving a spiritualised or ideal conception of the scene only, and went in for a wholesome modernism, steeped in spiritual feeling and aiming at such a representation as would satisfy his sense of reality. Hence arresting originality of conception and treatment, subdued by deep poetry and true spiritual sense, and

[1] *Venetian Painters*, pp. 51–52. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 54–55.

[3] See his lovely "Birth of Our Lord" and "Christ washing the Disciples' Feet," in the Escorial.

marked by a marvellous mastery of light and shadow. "It was a great mastery of light and shadow," says Berenson once more, "which enabled Tintoretto to put into his pictures all the poetry there was in his soul without once tempting us to think that he might have found better expression in words. The poetry which quickens most of his works in the Scuola di San Rocco is almost entirely a matter of light and colour."[1]

22. It is in the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice, that we find Tintoretto's noblest achievements. The whole story of the life of Christ from the Annunciation to His Resurrection and Ascension is told with extraordinary power. Taking only some of the pictures of the Manhood years, mark the originality of Tintoretto's treatment of "Christ's Baptism" and his feeling for expression in terms of modern thought. The dress and bearing of the groups on the river's bank are distinctly modern and Venetian, yet one feels the reality and spiritual significance of the incident painted.[2] Look at Christ's "Temptation," where Tintoretto, "with his usual truth of invention, has represented the Evil Spirit under the form of a fair angel, the wings burning with crimson and silver, the face sensual and treacherous."[3] One may feel that this fair angel with her sensual hands holding up the stones for Christ to make bread is no fair compliment to the Christ, yet one realises the depth of Tintoretto's expression of the forms of temptation in modern life. "Christ at the Pool of Bethesda," in the same room, makes the same modern appeal, though Ruskin

[1] *Venetian Painters*, p. 53.

[2] See Ruskin's description, *Works*, iv. 268–269, xi. 414; and compare Tintoretto's "Baptism" in S. Silvestro, and both with Verrocchio's "Baptism."

[3] Ruskin, iv. 319, xi. 418.

pronounces the subject "disgusting."[1] The "Last Supper" is much faded, and is regarded as "a most unsatisfactory picture,"[2] yet the face and pose of the Christ-figure are worthy of special praise. With this "Supper" should be compared Tintoretto's variations of the theme, as in S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice,[3] where we have a modern Venetian supper-table, the figures intensely human, the treatment intensely modern, yet with a sense of the spiritual finely conveyed in the strong light round the head of Christ, the angels flying toward Him, and the smoke of the lamp turning, as it rises, into a multitude of angels, "all painted in grey, the colour of the smoke; and so writhed and twisted together that the eye hardly at first distinguishes them from the vapour out of which they are formed, ghosts of countenances and filmy wings filling up the intervals between the completed heads."[4] A most remarkable picture this.

23. Even more dramatic than any of these is Tintoretto's "Christ before Pilate," in the inner room of the upper floor of San Rocco.[5] Seen on a dark day, says Ruskin, the white figure of Christ alone draws the eye, looking almost like a spirit. "Wait through the hour of accusing beside the judgment-seat of Pilate, where all is unseen, unfelt, except the one figure that stands with its head bowed down, pale, like a pillar of moonlight, half bathed in the glory of the God-head, half wrapt in the whiteness of the shroud."[6] Tintoretto's marvellous painting of light and shadow marks this picture pre-eminently and gives it

[1] Ruskin, xi. 417.
[2] *Ibid.* xi. 415.
[3] Compare his striking treatment of the theme in Church of S. Paolo, Venice, and S. Trovaso, Venice.
[4] Ruskin, xi. 382.
[5] See our illustration.
[6] Ruskin, iv. 274, xi. 427.

special charm. "What," asks Berenson, "but light and colour, the gloom and chill of evening, with the white-stoled figure standing resignedly before the judge, that give the 'Christ before Pilate' its sublime magic?"[1] The modern setting, again, has no power to mar the deep spiritual effect conveyed by this masterpiece. Though the face of the Christ is quite different from anything in art, this is a picture to ponder over. The more one looks at it, the more one is drawn to it, and the deeper becomes its sublime spiritual message. Pilate is about to wash his hands of the tragedy, but the lone white Figure stands there accusing throughout the years of time.

24. Beside this fine picture is another "Christ on the Way to Calvary," which should be compared with Giorgione's and Sodoma's "Christ bearing His Cross." The treatment is quite different, Tintoretto flinging his strength into the whole scene rather than into the Christ-figure only. To quote Ruskin again: "He has represented the troops and attendants climbing Calvary by a winding path of which two turns are seen, the figures on the uppermost ledge, and Christ in the centre of them, being relieved against the sky; but instead of the usual simple expedient of the bright horizon to relieve the dark masses, there is here introduced on the left the head of a white horse, which blends itself with the sky in one broad mass of light. The power of the picture is chiefly in effect, the figure of Christ being too far off to be very interesting, and only the malefactors being seen on the nearer path; but for this very reason it seems

[1] *Venetian Painters*, p. 53. "The 'Christ before Pilate,'" says Mr. Stearns, "is the noblest figure in the Scuola—the very majesty of spiritual triumph." See his *Four Great Venetians*, p. 261.

to me more impressive, as if one had been truly present at the scene, though not exactly in the right place for seeing it."[1]

25. Tintoretto's noblest work, however, is the great Crucifixion," painted in this same room and covering the whole of one wall.[2] The grouping and arrangement of light are marvellous, but the picture is too large and too crowded with figures and thought for effective reproduction. Standing before it, even Ruskin is hushed to silence: "I must leave this picture to work its will on the spectator; it is beyond all analysis, and above all praise."[3] He is awestruck in its presence and marvels at Tintoretto's "quiet thought" in this "awful Crucifixion": "I never was so utterly crushed to the earth before any human intellect as I was to-day—before Tintoret. Just be so good as to take my list of painters and put him in the school of Art at the top—top—top of everything, with a great black line underneath him to stop him off from everybody; and put him in the school of Intellect, next after Michael Angelo."[4] "It is doubtful," says Mr. J. B. Stoughton Holborn, "if any picture in the world approaches the majesty of conception in Tintoretto's great 'Crucifixion.'"[5] "Christ's form," says Mr. Stearns,

[1] *Works*, xi. 427–428.

[2] Other "Crucifixions" by Tintoretto may be seen in the Academy, Venice, and S. Cassiano, Venice, both reproduced in E. M. Phillipps *Tintoretto*, pp. 47, 111, and also in Mr. Holborn's monograph. He only signed one picture in the Rocco series, the "Crucifixion."

[3] *Works*, xi. 428.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. Intro. xxxviii and 354. Later, he saw this picture with Holman Hunt, and said, "What I wrote in past years is well" (xxxiv. 661).

[5] *Tintoretto*, p. 67. See the beautiful reproduction in Mrs. Ady's *Christ and His Mother in Italian Art*, p. 214.

"is one of the most symmetrical ever designed by painter or sculptor. At the foot of the Cross is that celebrated group of mourners, the most tragical and deeply affecting in Italian art. Their attitudes alone convey a sense of the profoundest grief."[1] "Perhaps," says Evelyn Phillipps, "we hardly realise how much the first strong impression made upon us is due to the atmosphere of the old painting. We 'swim into a sea of light and air.' The wall becomes no longer a wall, but a piece of the world, in which events of deep import are taking place."[2] "So truly indeed does the divine dominate the human in this most beautiful creation," says Mrs. Bell, "that there can have been no question during its production of a temporary 'forgetfulness' of its author into religion; for Tintoretto could not have painted it had he not been for the time at least in intimate touch with the very Spirit of Christianity."[3]

26. The picture is a marvellous combination of Tintoretto's realism and deep spiritual thought. Every figure demands study, every group grips the heart, and the Central Figure lifts the life to solemn heights. From the viewpoint of its significance in art I know of no better description than Berenson's: where Ruskin faltered he spoke. "The scene is a vast one, and although Christ is on the Cross life does not stop. To most of the people gathered there, what takes place is no more than a common execution. Many of them are attending to it as to a tedious duty. Others work away at some menial task

[1] *Four Great Venetians*, by F. P. Stearns, p. 258.

[2] See her fine book, *Tintoretto*, p. 61, with full-page illustration of the picture and of detail—the celebrated group of mourners, pp. 61 and 63.

[3] See her *Tintoretto*, p. xviii.

more or less connected with the Crucifixion, as unconcerned as cobblers humming over their last. Most of the people in the huge canvas are represented, as no doubt they were in life, without much personal feeling about Christ. His own friends are painted with all their grief and despair, but the others are allowed to feel as they please. The painter does not try to give them the proper emotions. If one of the great novelists of to-day, if Tolstoi, for instance, were to describe the Crucifixion, his account would read as if it were a description of Tintoretto's picture."[1] From the viewpoint of religious thought, it is enough to say that, while the heart cries to be alone with Christ in His agony and loves the silent, lonely "Crucifixions" of Perugino and Velasquez, the mind confesses Tintoretto paints for us the truth. And so nobly is it done, one feels the darkness of the scene, looks with melting eyes on the great Christ, forgets the crowd, and falls with Mary and the Magdalene in rapture at His feet.[2]

27. Other great pictures by Tintoretto include his "Last Judgment," in the Church of Madonna dell' Orto, Venice, a most original and powerful painting. "By Tintoret only," says Ruskin, "has this unimaginable event been grappled with in its verity; not typically nor symbolically, but as they may see it who shall not sleep, but be changed."[3] The picture should be compared with Michael Angelo's and Orcagna's to realise its great power and its immense

[1] *Venetian Painters*, pp. 57–58.

[2] Other pictures in San Rocco include a great "Annunciation"; "Ecce Homo"; "Raising of Lazarus"; "Resurrection," an original and very suggestive rendering; "Agony in the Garden"; "Ascension," a powerful and characteristic work; "Miracle of the Loaves"; and numerous other pictures of Old and New Testament subjects.

[3] *Works*, xi. 395–396.

originality. Full of deep and moving thoughts, mark only that the River of Judgment is crowded with souls that haunt our dreams, and that the Judge is not the inexorable Avenger of the Florentine, but a Gracious Figure touched with pity, a Shepherd welcoming His flock home.[1] Tintoretto's "Paradise," painted later, in the Ducal Palace, Venice, is a veritable triumph of decorative art, and is regarded as his "masterpiece." Ruskin pronounces it "the greatest picture in the world."[2] He compares it with Angelo's "Last Judgment," and declares that Tintoretto "outflies him in motion, outwits him in fancy, and outflames him in rage," and yet can be "just as gentle as he is strong." The largest picture in the world, this "Paradise" is also "the thoughtfullest and most precious."[3] In 1907 the wall on which the great canvas had hung for over three hundred years was found to need structural repairs, and the "Paradise" was moved to the centre of the great Sala where it could be studied as never before.[4] Thirty feet high by seventy-four feet wide, the picture has over seven hundred figures, every one a study, every group a marvel. High up, in a flood of light, is the Figure that interests us most of all, a Christ of radiant beauty and winning kindness.

> "There is in heaven a light whose goodly shine
> Makes the Creator visible to all
> Created, that in seeing Him alone
> Have peace."

The Eternal Light smiles on Him, and on all, and the glory round Christ's head lights up the scene, and draws

[1] Compare E. M. Phillipps' *Tintoretto*, p. 36.
[2] *Works*, x. 438, xxi. 27. [3] *Ibid.* xxii. 102.
[4] See E. M. Phillipps' *Tintoretto*, pp. 120–128.

all eyes to behold the King in His beauty. A great picture, surely, in every way, and worthy of endless study.[1]

[1] Practically his last work, Tintoretto found, like Dante, his culminating vision in the peace and bliss of Paradise. Other Christ-pictures by him include "Christ in House of Martha and Mary," in Augsburg; "Marriage in Cana," Church of S. Maria della Salute, Venice; "Woman taken in Adultery," Academy, Venice; a marvellous "Deposition," Academy, Venice; a still more tragic "Pietà," Brera, Milan; a realistic "Entombment," Church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; "Christ washing Disciples' Feet," Escorial, Madrid, and in our National Gallery, London; "Descent from the Cross," Ducal Palace, Venice, "a most noble painting" (Ruskin); "Descent into Hades," S. Cassiano; "Entombment," Parma; "Resurrection," in S. Cassiano and S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; "Baptism," "Ecce Homo," and "Flagellation," Capitol, Rome; etc. etc.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

# THE CHRIST OF THE SPANISH HEART

## SYNOPSIS

1. Spain and Italian decadence.
2. Causes of the decadence.
3. The mannerists : Vasari and Baroccio.
4. The Eclectics : the three Carracci.
5. Guido Reni's popular "Ecce Homo."
6. The Italian naturalists under Caravaggio.
7. The Spanish dawn : Morales.
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9. "El Mundo," Navarrete, the dumb painter.
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11. Civic decadence and Art renaissance.
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19. Murillo's devotion to the Church.
20. His "Immaculate Conceptions" and "Child-Christs."
21. His "Gethsemane" and "Ecce Homos."
22. His "Crucifixions" and "Pietà."

Head of Christ.

*Annibale Carracci.*

*Photograph by Alinari.* *Page* 212.

Head of Christ.

Annibale Carracci.

Photograph by Alinari.

Page 212.

Christ Crucified.

*Zurbarán.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

*Page* 224.

Christ Crucified.

Zurbaran.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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# CHAPTER EIGHT THE CHRIST OF THE SPANISH HEART

WITH the passing of Tintoretto in 1594, art in Italy came to its decadence. Not that night descended all at once, or that painting left her sunny plains for ever, but that conditions of life in Italy became difficult and cruel, and men of art became content to follow the great masters the Renaissance had produced. Though Venice from her sheltered place was late in feeling the weight of the tyrant hands that crush art, other parts of Italy had fallen under them long before Tintoretto died. Torn by ecclesiastical and political strife, the death of many popes and the birth of many intrigues, Italy became a land of bloodshed and cruel wars. In 1526 Lombardy was overrun with foreign troops, and in May 1527 Rome was sacked by an army of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans under the Duke of Bourbon, the Pope himself scarcely escaping.[1] Charles v., Emperor of Germany and Spain, for long fought the Pope and his allies, including the famous French king, Francis I. So many provinces and countries were in the throes of war that unrest everywhere prevailed. In 1537 Francis called in the aid of the Turk to help him against Charles, and 1538 saw both sides exhausted. Meanwhile the religious revolution under Luther was proceeding in Germany and elsewhere, and causing trouble to popes and emperors alike, till in 1555 the Peace of Augsburg was signed, wherein Protestantism received legal recognition and Charles saw

[1] See *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 295–311. In 1529 Florence underwent a fearful siege, in which Michael Angelo played a brave part (*ibid.* pp. 312–330). The poor were eating moles, and asses were meat for banquets where wine was scarce.

his life schemes baffled. After the death of Charles,[1] Turkish troops ravaged Italy, and Venice in her pride was reduced to feeding on food that was loathesome.[2] In 1569 and the following years fire and pestilence and the shadow of war troubled the city; and Venice passed through deep and bitter sorrows in her wars with Turkey. Thousands also died of a strange sickness, including the great Titian.[3] Sorrow was added to sorrow throughout Italy till the opening years of the new century, the Counter-Reformation, rise of Jesuitism, spread of Inquisition, revolution and counter-revolution following one another hard throughout Europe during these years. Then came the Thirty Years War (A.D. 1618–1648), ending with the Peace of Westphalia and the last stage in the decline of the Holy Roman Empire.[4]

2. Together with this unrest, political and ecclesiastical, there must be added the fact that the creative spirit of the Italian Renaissance died with Tintoretto. The men who followed were content to imitate, to follow the manner or to choose the traits of those who had gone before. The spirit of the Renaissance passed westward, and Italy was left with a fading flower. The petals withered in the Decadence, and though they retained something of the colour and fragrance of the rose, they were but scattered leaves rather than the rose itself.[5] Or, as Kugler puts it: "A

[1] A.D. 1558.

[2] Compare Seeley's *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 372. Even grass was eaten by the poor, and many died of hunger.

[3] A.D. 1576.

[4] See *Holy Roman Empire*, by James Bryce (1904); *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, by A. H. Johnson (1903); *Ascendancy of France*, in History of Europe Series, by H. O. Wakeman (1901); *Modern Europe*, vol. iii. (1576–1679), by Dyer and Hassall (1901); *European History* (476–1910), by Hassall (1910); *Renaissance in Italy: the Catholic Reaction*, by J. A. Symonds, 2 vols.

[5] *Rex Regum*, p. 130.

climax of excellence was felt to have been attained; and it was now the general aim to hold fast, if not to surpass, that *effect* in the great works of art which appeared to have earned for their authors their universal reputation. No one remembered that the foundation of all artistic greatness depended on the mysterious harmony between the personality of the painter and his subject. The merely external characteristics of these great masters became, therefore, the objects of imitation—first with due modesty and then with gradually increasing boldness, till the greatest exaggerations ensued."[1]

3. The art of imitation led to the development of two schools, the Mannerists and the Eclectics—the one content to imitate the manner of some great master, the other desirous of choosing the best traits of many and combining them in their own "master-works." Vasari, the versatile historian of Italian art, belonged to the Mannerists.[2] "We paint," he writes, "six pictures in a year, while the earlier masters took six years for one picture. And yet," he naïvely adds, "our pictures are much more perfectly executed than those of the early school by the most distinguished masters!" The chief cities of Italy are full of his works after the "manner" of Michael Angelo. They are despised and neglected, though his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* remains a perpetual joy to all who love art. Leonardo, Raphael, and Correggio had their mannerists too, as well as Michael Angelo; but there is no joy in following the sorrowful pack. Let one name alone be honoured, and that because

[1] *History of Painting: Italian Schools*, vol. ii. pp. 559-560.

[2] A.D. 1512–1574. Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo, undoubtedly an artist of talent and historian of great interest. Would that he had remembered Michael Angelo's great saying: "Who walks behind another will never pass him by."

he tried to some extent to stem the tide. Baroccio of Urbino took Correggio for his master, and painted many a Christ-picture in his manner. Though somewhat affected, roseate, and sentimental, he has decided emotion, idyllic fancy, and charm of light and shade. He has a colossal "Descent from the Cross" in Perugia, "not without grandeur in the agitated group surrounding the fainting Virgin," and another in Bologna, "an unfinished picture of fine imagination," while his "Christ and the Magdalene," in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, is reckoned, "for truth and *naïveté*, one of the best of his works." In the Uffizi, too, is his "Madonna del Popolo," a huge, crowded picture in which the Mother is presenting to Christ the market-folk of Arezzo.[1]

4. In revolt against the Mannerists, Lodovico Carracci,[2] followed by his nephews Agostino[3] and Annibale,[4] set up the Eclectic School of Bologna, and set up, too, "an academic standard of rigidly enforced rules of beauty which has remained the curse of all European academies to this day."[5] They took form from Greek sculpture, colour from Venice, composition from Raphael, movement from Michael Angelo, chiaroscuro from Correggio, and tried to mix the whole into works of beauty. Annibale is considered the best painter of the school, though Agostino had genius and Lodovico teaching power. A fine example[6] of Annibale's work may be seen in Dresden, with a Christ of great beauty and strength. It is bold, and pleasing as it

[1] Kugler's *Handbook of Painting: Italian Schools*, vol. ii. p. 566, and Konody's *Uffizi Gallery*, 162. But see his unhappy representation of "Our Lady of the Cat" in the National Gallery, London. The Divine Child is painted as actually taking pleasure in the torture of a sparrow. Born at Urbino, A.D. 1528; died there, 1612.

[2] A.D. 1555–1619. [3] A.D. 1557–1602. [4] A.D. 1560–1609.

[5] Konody, p. 190. [6] See our illustration.

is beautiful, and has so much originality of conception that one could wish the Carracci had always painted like this. Annibale, also, has a very pleasing "Holy Family," with Christ as a boy of seven or eight helping Joseph in the carpenter's shop at Nazareth. Quite a number of his works are in the National Gallery.[1]

5. Greater than any of the Carracci is Guido Reni, their most distinguished pupil.[2] A great lover of prettiness and tearful Madonnas, he has given us in his "Aurora" one of the choice pictures of the world,[3] and in his "Ecce Homo," now in our National Gallery, one of the most popular Christ-pictures ever painted. The great crown of thorns, the uplifted face, the radiant spiritual glance, the touch of sentimentality, and the passion of Christ's appeal to the Unseen God, combine to make a strong popular appeal to hosts of men.[4] There can be no doubt that the Christ of this picture is powerfully painted, and that Guido Reni has touched the hearts of many with his masterpiece. The influence of the Counter-Reformation, Loyola and the Jesuits, their loud demand for paintings to move the heart of the people, may be seen in this popular picture, and still more in the "Ecce Homo" of Guido's follower, Guercino. The anguish of the Christ, the bitterness of His humiliation, the agony of His scourged and lacerated body,

[1] See Poynter's *Italian Painting*, 193–194; Seeley's *Italian Renaissance*, 394–403; and Konody's *Uffizi Gallery*, 191–192. Lodovico has an "Entombment" at Munich, and Annibale a small picture of much pathos, "Bewailing the Body of Christ." See *Art of the Munich Galleries*, 279–280.

[2] A.D. 1575–1642.

[3] In the Rospiglio Palace, Rome.

[4] See our illustration and mark Mrs. Jenner's scathing criticism in *Christ in Art*, p. 145. Compare, also, an "Ecce Homo" attributed to Guido, in the National Gallery, Edinburgh, equally strong in its appeal though cold in its colouring.

and His painful wonder that God in His heaven should permit all this injustice and woe, are dramatically and powerfully painted. Though it be a flower of the Decadence and its petals be stained with blood, countless men and women will continue to wear Guido's Christ next their hearts. The crowd demands a sign, and will not be satisfied without the sight of blood.[1]

6. In strong and open revolt, in turn, against the school of Carracci arose a school of Naturalists under the lead of Caravaggio, "an artist whose wild passions and tempestuous life were in keeping with his pictures."[2] The poetry of the repulsive and the passion of vulgarity were indulged by him. Without physical elevation or divine impulse, his types are frankly and nakedly human, capable of wild abandonment and mad excitement. Despite this, he painted many religious pictures not without power. His "Christ calling Matthew," on the walls of a chapel in Rome, is greatly admired, while his celebrated "Entombment," in the Vatican, though lacking in sacred feeling,

[1] Compare Seeley's *Italian Renaissance*, 402–412, and Kugler's *Italian Schools*, vol. ii. pp. 579–582. See also Guido's "Pietà," "Crucifixion," with lovely Virgin and S. John, and famous "Massacre of the Innocents" at Bologna, and his very striking "Crucifixion," with Christ on the Cross alone, at Modena. The work of Carlo Maratti, "an inferior Guido," and of Guercino (1591–1666) may be passed over. Yet Guercino's "Ecce Homo," with its violent emotion and dramatic realism, should be studied. It has more than the touch of Jesuit influence upon it, and will always appeal to those who demand a truly human Christ, unhelped by the Unseen and called to suffer like every son of man would under similar circumstances. A reproduction may be seen in *The Christ Face in Art*, by Rev. Jas. Burns, p. 112. Carlo Dolci, a Florentine (1616–1686), was Eclectic also, but of the school of Rosselli. A high priest of prettiness, mawkish sentimentality, and over-sweetness, all these traits may be studied in his popular picture of "The Saviour," a young Christ which adorns many a cottage wall.

[2] Kugler's *Italian Schools*, ii. 591.

and "too much like the funeral of a gipsy chief," is nevertheless "full of solemnity."[1] He had many followers, the most notable being a Spaniard, Guiseppe Ribera, commonly called Lo Spagnoletto. His "Pietà," at Naples, with its beautiful Mother, is considered to rival the best Italian work,[2] while his "Last Supper," in the same church, has a noble Christ, after the manner of Paul Veronese.[3]

7. To turn from the heartless work of the Italian Decadence to the strong and virile work of the great Spaniards is like walking the uplands again. The Renaissance both in literature and art was later in Spain than in Italy, like our Elizabethan Renaissance and the later Renaissance in France.[4] However classic its poetry, or light its drama, or romantic its prose, the art of Spain was deeply religious and its greatest achievements intensely realistic. In the fifteenth century Flemish influence predominated, though in the sixteenth century Italian influence slowly overpowered the Flemish. In the seventeenth century, however, the national spirit triumphed over Italian

[1] Kugler's *Italian Schools*, ii. 592. His real name was Michelangelo Amerighi. Born at Caravaggio, in Lombardy. A.D. 1569–1609.

[2] Kugler, ii. 594. His best-known follower was Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), a lover of gloom and violent effects. His religious paintings are chiefly melodrama.

[3] Of the later schools of Italian art we have no heart to write. The revival of art in Venice in the eighteenth century, however, should be noted. Longhi, Canaletto, Guardi, and Tiepolo were four painters of this later Venetian revival who did good work. Compare Berenson's *Venetian Painters*, pp. 72–77. See Tiepolo's beautiful "Worship of the Magi," in Munich, and "Gethsemane," in the Prado. Compare, also, his "Christ at the Column" with Velasquez's. Tiepolo shows Christ in the very act of being scourged. It is a vigorous and painful bit of work. His "Crowning with Thorns" and "Disrobing of Christ" are equally painful, as are all his works on the Passion now in the Prado.

[4] See *The Later Renaissance*, by David Hannay, in Prof. Saintsbury's Periods of European Literature Series.

influence, and Spain came to the great epoch of its realistic art. Of the great men who came before the giants very few need be mentioned. Chief among these is Morales, a painter whose work so touched the heart of his time that men called him "El Divino."[1] His subjects were entirely religious and mostly concerned with the suffering and death of Jesus. Born in Castile, he retained the national manner, though much influenced by Italian art, and his work is steeped in the mediæval ideals. His sadness is but the reflection of the gloom prevailing in the religious life of Spain. "It is impossible to comprehend his work," says one quite truly, "unless we remember it was painted in a country where the religious conception was governed by the Inquisition."[2] One of his earliest paintings was "Christ going to Calvary," painted for Philip at Court, and given by the king to a convent at Madrid. Later, he painted a series of Christ-pictures for a church in the plains of Estremadura,[3] including "Christ Bound," "Descent from Cross," and "Descent into Purgatory." In Madrid Royal Gallery there is a typical "Ecce Homo," with a strong sad face and eyes that haunt one for days afterwards.[4] It makes a powerful appeal to the emotions, and fulfils the Inquisitorial ideal of painting the pains of Christ in such a way as to stir the heart of the people deeply. Quite a different, but equally moving, "Ecce Homo" may be seen in Dresden. In Madrid, also, is his famous "Madonna Dolorosa," a beautiful Mother with a Dead Christ in her arms, limp in death and sad beyond all reckoning. The dramatic and gloomy asceticism

[1] A.D. 1509–1586. The Divine Painter.
[2] *Spanish Painting*, by C. Gasquoine Hartley (Mrs. Gallichan), p. 68.
[3] Arroyo del Puerco. [4] See our illustration.

of mediæval Spain receives striking illustration in these pictures by Morales.[1]

8. Deeply religious, too, was Vicente Juan Macip, commonly known as Juan de Juanes.[2] Born in Valencia, he painted many pictures for the Cathedral, churches, and convents of his native province. One of the earliest was his "Baptism of Christ," in the Cathedral, over the font. It is reckoned by one the finest presentment of Christ we have from the hand of Juanes.[3] Better known, however, is his Christ of the "Last Supper," also in the Cathedral, Valencia. The subject was painted by Juanes several times.[4] Two "Last Suppers" are in the Prado, Madrid. The Christ in all of these is nobly conceived and beautifully painted. There is no bewildering, heart-moving sorrow here, but a Christ of great beauty and winsome grace. To look at Him, with His right hand lifted showing the holy bread, His left hand on His heart or on the holy cup, is to ask communion with Him and long for a place at His Table. "His conceptions of the Saviour," writes Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell in his great book on Spanish Art, "are bodied forth in one of the most beautiful types of the male countenance ever formed by the pencil. Leonardo da Vinci himself was less happy in his treatment of that magnificent subject; had he finished the head of Christ in his matchless 'Cena,' he could hardly have surpassed the noble delineations of Juanes."[5] He declares

[1] See his "Virgin and Child," in the National Gallery, London, and his "Christ bearing His Cross," in the Uffizi, both typical works.

[2] Date of birth between 1505 and 1523. Died 1579.

[3] See Mrs. Gallichan's *Spanish Painting*, p. 84. It is, however, much injured.

[4] In many of the churches in the province.

[5] *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, p. 359.

the face to be one of more than mortal beauty and winning as that of S. Francis de Sales, on which children delighted to gaze and women looked with involuntary love. Of all the pictures of our Lord by Juanes, he gives the palm to the Christ of the "Last Supper," in the Museum, Valencia, formerly in the Church of the Franciscans. Christ wears a robe of violet with a red mantle, and His left hand rests on the famous "Holy Chalice" of Valencia, a cup of agate, mounted with gold and enriched with gems, and believed by the Spaniards to be the identical cup used by Christ at the institution of the Holy Sacrament.[1]

9. The influence of Titian and the Venetian School, its love of colour and beautiful line, is seen in Juan Fernandez Navarrete, the dumb painter of Navarre. Through the bounty of the monks of Estrella, the young dumb artist was sent to Italy; but not there, in his own land, on his return to Spain, on a visit to the Court at Madrid, he came under the spell of the great Venetian.[2] In delirium of joy he drank in the spirit of Titian and took the heart of Philip by storm. The "Baptism of Christ," now in the Prado, Madrid, was his first achievement in the Venetian style. There is gladness and beauty in every line, and glow of colour enough to make the

[1] Compare Stirling-Maxwell, pp. 360–361. See also the beautiful "Last Supper" in the Church of S. Nicolas, Valencia. There is an "Ecce Homo" by Juanes in Paris, brought there by Marshal Soult. Another, once in the Collection of Sir Claude de Crespigny and given by him to Lord Blythswood, was destroyed by the fire at Douglas Support in 1908.

[2] A.D. 1526–1579. He was nicknamed "El Mundo," the Earthly Painter, because of his love of beautiful things and his break with the mediæval ideal. Later, he incurred the wrath of the Church for the secular interludes with which he illumined his scriptural works. See Mrs. Gallichan's *Spanish Painting*, pp. 93 and 153.

heart sing. The figure of Christ is beautiful in its spiritual pose and fine simplicity, while the figure of John is a strong and striking bit of work. The lovely women on the river's bank, the beautiful angels in the sky, and the picture of the Father with hand outstretched to bless the Son, complete a canvas of much originality and charm. After painting a number of works for the monks of Estrella, he was again summoned by the king to Madrid, and painted a "Nativity," "Holy Family," and "Christ at the Column." The "Nativity" is still at the Escorial, with a lovely Child-Christ radiating light and life on all the glowing scene.

10. From "El Mundo" to "El Greco," from the Worldling to the Greek, is a farther step in the Renaissance of Spanish art. Domenico Theotocópuli, nicknamed "El Greco," a man of strong individuality and striking original genius, his origin is wrapped in mystery and his art-training in the clouds.[1] "He seems to have discovered art over again for himself," says Mr. Arthur Symons. Impatient of the old and restless in heart, he rode roughshod over the ideals of Spanish Catholic art, and outstripped all the men of his day. The prelude to the perfect harmony of Velasquez, "the paintings of El Greco," says one, "may be called a whirlwind of primal vision, while the work of Velasquez is the supreme truth of a calm and balanced sight."[2] In Toledo Cathedral is his fine conception of "The Stripping of Jesus." This is his most Venetian picture, in colour and form. The glowing, majestic Christ and fine grouping command attention.

[1] Born about 1548 (place and date uncertain), and died 1614. Came from Crete, travelled in Italy, probably worked in Venice, and came under influence of Tintoretto.

[2] Mrs. Gallichan in *Spanish Painting*, p. 107.

The picture led to a lawsuit with the Chapter owing to the presence of the Maries in the scene![1] A "Christ Crucified," painted for the Church of La Regna, Toledo, is also much admired. In the Prado, Madrid, is a remarkable drawing of a "Dead Christ in the Arms of the Father,"[2] a subject repeated in Seville Cathedral. It is a most powerful and original conception. In Madrid, also, he has a "Baptism," "Annunciation," and "Crucifixion," all remarkable for their marvellous play of light and shade. The artist, it is said, might have painted his "Baptism" by the "fitful flashes of lightning, on a midsummer night, from models dressed only in floating ribands."[3] His figures are tall and bony, while the hollow leanness of the Christ on the Cross is "almost horrible."[4] Though nicknamed "The Greek," he had not the Greek's love of beauty, rounded form, and winning grace, or his hatred of pain, else would he have painted a Christ more true to nature and beautiful even in His agony.

11. Coming now to the great epoch of Spanish art, the era of Velasquez, Ribera, Zurbarán, and Murillo, a very remarkable fact must be noted. "It is noteworthy," writes Mrs. Gallichan,[5] "that this century, which saw the supreme fulfilment of the genius of the race, likewise witnessed the decline of the country's power. At the close of the fifteenth

[1] Mrs. Gallichan in *Spanish Painting*, p. 108. See beautiful description in Stirling-Maxwell, pp. 277–278.

[2] See our illustration.

[3] Compare Stirling-Maxwell, p. 286. The "Baptism" is reproduced in Caffin, p. 80.

[4] Mrs. Gallichan's *Spanish Painting*, p. 110. Compare also his "Crucifixion" in the Louvre, reproduced in Caffin's *Story*, p. 70. It is subject to the same criticism, that the Crucified is a repelling Figure. Yet see his beautiful but surprising "Assumption" in S. Vicente, Toledo.

[5] See her excellent *Spanish Painting*, pp. 129–130.

century Spain first became a nation. During the next hundred years she was potent throughout the world. Then followed her decline. The year 1588 saw the destruction of the Armada; in 1640 Portugal was lost; in 1648 the independence of the Netherland States was recognised; and in 1700 the Austrian dynasty reached its final termination. Thus the artistic growth was in no way coincident with the country's greatness; rather it followed the ebb tide, the time of rest resulting after an age of achievement. There was a pause in the national history, and these years of civic failure were pregnant with intellectual creation. That spirit which in past years had discovered countries and fought and won battles was still brooding in the nation. It revealed itself in an overwhelming artistic impulse—a passionate effort for individual expression. At the dawn of the sixteenth century the country broke from the last thralls of the Moorish service; in the seventeenth century Spanish art at length cast aside her burden of degenerate Italianism. For a few short years the nation of Spain was supreme; for a period equally brief the Spanish masters were second to the masters of no other school."[1]

12. The pioneers of this great era, the minor prophets

[1] In haste to meet the great men, we pass by the Spanish Mannerists and Eclectics who, strangely enough, wrought almost side by side with the great men, and failed to see "the light." A fine "Conception" by Pedro de Moya, a Mannerist, a dramatic rendering of the "Four Maries and John seeking Jesus," by the fiery-tempered Eclectic, Valdés, and some beautiful work by Alonzo Cano (1601–1667), should be noted. Cano has a lovely "Virgin and Child" in Seville Cathedral, "one of the sweetest holy studies painted by a Spanish artist." See, also, his "Madonna of the Rosary," in Malaga Cathedral, and his lovely "Mother adoring the Christ-Child," in the Prado, Madrid. Here, also, are Cano's "Christ at the Column," "Christ Crucified," and "Dead Christ." All his work has charm, sweetness, tenderness, and is good, but he is affected and insincere, and so fails of the highest.

of the Spanish Naturalistic School, demand a meed of praise. First among them was Francisco de Herrera,[1] a genius of great vigour and the teacher of Velasquez. Restless, turbulent, eager, he broke from the arms of Italy, and painted in a whirlwind of fury out of the passion of his own flaming life. His marvellous conception of the beauty of the human body and his realistic drawing of the actual forms of men and women may be seen in his "Last Judgment," still in the Church of S. Bernardo, Seville. Many of the figures are hurled upon the canvas "as if in contempt for the prettiness and pietism" that had controlled the Spanish-Italians.[2] Tristan, a follower of El Greco and inspirer of Velasquez in his youth, painted an altarpiece in the Church of Yepes, with pictures of "Christ at the Column," "Bearing the Cross," "Resurrection," and "Ascension," which are notable examples of realistic work.[3] In Ribalta, the Valencian realist, we have a passionate Spanish artist, trained in Italy, but truly Spanish.[4] In Madrid are two Christ-pictures of him well worth study, "Christ Crucified" and "The Dead Christ in the Arms of Two Angels," while in the churches and Museum of Valencia are many examples of his virile work. He has a beautiful conception of the Christ-Child, and a noble ideal of the Crucified. In the Museum and Church of the Body of Christ, Ribalta is represented by a "Holy Family," "Crucifixion," "Last Supper," and other pictures of Christ of much interest. His disciple, Espinosa, carried on his work, though it is often marred by "a strange blending of grandeur and

[1] A.D. 1576–1656.

[2] See Mrs. Gallichan's *Spanish Painting*, p. 155.

[3] Born near Toledo, A.D. 1586–1640.

[4] A.D. 1550 (*circa*)–1628. In the college of Corpus Christi, Valencia, he has a fine "Last Supper," "Christ at the Column," and "Christ in the Garden of Olives."

vulgarity."[1] His "Christ at the Column," a popular subject in Spanish realism, is a typical example of his striking work.[2]

13. In Francisco de Zurbarán, however, we come to the great exponent of Spanish religious realism.[3] While other painters are Spanish, Zurbarán, says Lord Leighton, is "All Spain."[4] A peasant lad, he learned to draw and paint, and sought to express not the fancies and imaginations of his own heart, far less the artistic conceptions of the Church, but life as he really found it. He trusted the naked truth of nature and despised the softening grace of idealism. He was out for truth, and nothing but the truth, and fancied that the only way to reach it was to paint direct from nature. To this ideal would he be true, and travel far only as this fancy carried him, bating not one jot or tittle of his self-imposed law. A hard worker and a hard tasksman, his work is simple and sincere, but is marked with inevitable incongruities. True to goodness as well as nature, his painting is never vulgar or unclean, and is often powerful and haunting beyond telling. The frenzy and ecstasy of monks, the dreams and visions of saints, the passion and pain of Christ, are all painted in fervour of realistic love; and never a dream but has its feet on earth, never a Christ but has His shadow in the streets of Seville or the studio of Zurbarán. Look at his "Dream of S. Benedict," now in the Académia de Bellas Artes, with its magnificent portraiture. The gaunt, ascetic saint, the beauti-

[1] Mrs. Gallichan, p. 168.

[2] Now in Madrid. See, also, his "Dead Christ" in the arms of two angels and his "Son in Pain," in the Prado. A.D. 1600–1680.

[3] A.D. 1598–1662 (*circa*).

[4] See his address on Spanish Art to the Royal Academy students. Compare, also, the fine work of Ribera in the Prado, Madrid, especially his Magdalenes. It is quite Spanish. See *infra*, pp. 225–6.

ful angel, and still more beautiful Mother, seated in the clouds beside the Christ, and the four fair musicians who stand on His left, are all realistic likenesses. The beauties of Seville are the angels of Zurbarán, the monks of the town his model-saints, and a Spaniard with a Christ-like face is good enough to paint as Christ in the eyes of this peasant-painter.[1]

14. In Madrid is a study of "The Child-Christ," typical of Zurbarán's method, and simple as it is modern—a little child, swathed in purple, asleep on a cross, a crown of thorns beside him. It is simplicity itself, but very effective and very suggestive, and more than pleasing. In Seville he has a "Boy-Christ" equally arresting.[2] A boy, with a flowing purple robe, sits with a crown of thorns on his knee. No halo, no angel, no figure of any kind, only a peasant lad of Seville feeling a crown of thorns; yet the picture is deeply religious and crowded with thought. Still more arresting are Zurbarán's "Crucifixions," realistic representations of Christ on the Cross, the crowd gone, the Maries vanished, the disciples far away, only one lonely Figure left to tell its awful story. The background is dark as death, and the light falls on the body of the Christ only. In two of these powerful paintings He is in the act of dying, in the third He is dead seemingly beyond recall. The darkness throbs with the cry, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," and you feel that the cry has broken Christ's heart.[3]

[1] The limitations of the realistic method are obvious, though its gains are often great. See Zurbarán's Spanish girl "S. Margaret," and "Adoration of the Shepherds," in National Gallery, London—by some assigned (wrongly) to Velasquez.

[2] "El Niño Jesus." This and the three "Crucifixions" mentioned are in the Museum, Seville.

[3] Though not nearly so beautiful as Velasquez's "Crucifixion," painted in 1639, these may have influenced it. They were painted, I think, before A.D. 1633. See our illustration.

Christ on the Cross.

*Velasquez.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

*Page* 229.

Christ on the Cross.

Velasquez.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

Page 229.

Ecce Homo.

*Murillo.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

Ecce Homo.

*Murillo.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

Ecce Homo.

Murillo.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

Deposition from the Cross.

*Lo Spagnoletto.*

*Photograph by Brogi.* *Page* 225.

Deposition from the Cross.

Lo Spagnoletto.

Photograph by Brogi.

Page 225.

Christ at the Column.

*Velasquez.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

Photolithography by W. A. Mansell & Co.

Page 111.

Nejedness.

Christ at the Column.

15. Ribera, the Italianised Spaniard, nicknamed "Lo Spagnoletto," spent his eventful life in Italy and was a realist of great force.[1] Capable of "the poetry of the repulsive," and of seeming delight in "horrible subjects,"[2] he painted always from Nature, and could be gentle and tender too. He has a number of lovely Magdalenes, feelingly drawn, and a beautiful "Boy-Christ" in the Royal Gallery.[3] The Boy stands beside Joseph in a carpenter's shop and helps him at his work. The interior is a Spanish workshop, realistically painted, and the picture has decided charm. One of his earliest extant works is the "Crucifixion" in the private chapel of the Duke of Osuna.[4] But it is in the Carthusian Convent of S. Martino, Naples, in the city where he reigned supreme, that we find the most famous Christ-pictures of Ribera. Here is his "Last Supper" and his still more famous "Deposition from the Cross." Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell speaks of this as "a picture rarely equalled by any master of any school," and Kugler calls it "a masterly production that rivals the best specimens of Italian art." It is Ribera's masterpiece, and is certainly a striking and original conception of the scene. The picture is realistic, but there is no mark of the "repulsive" or the "horrible" upon it. The heart of the little Spaniard must have been moved as he painted it, and the result is that we have a work as beautiful as it is pitiful.[5] The Dead Christ lies on the ground at the foot of the Cross, beautiful even in death. His head and shoulders rest on S. John's knee. A lovely Mother kneels by His

[1] Born in Valencia A.D. 1588. Date and manner of death unknown.
[2] Kugler. [3] The Prado Palace, Madrid.
[4] When Soult rifled the ducal chapel the French soldiers amused themselves by firing at the picture! [5] See our illustration.

side, her hands folded, her eyes uplifted, her face stricken with bewildering sorrow, yet not with over-poignant grief, appealing to Heaven for help. Mary Magdalene, prostrate at His feet, kisses them in her great love. Standing to the right is Joseph of Arimathea, ready to bear Him to His new-hewn grave, while to the left, by the half-hidden Cross, are two lovely boy-angels poised in air. In the hands of one is the crown of thorns, in the grasp of the other the nail that pierced His palm. To look on this picture is to realise the scene vividly and tenderly. It is realism of the finest type touched with the beauty of the ideal. The presence of the boy-angels is an imaginative stroke of great charm. The Mother does not appeal in vain, and that helpless lovely Christ wins our kisses and draws our tenderest love.[1]

16. When we breathe the name of the great Velasquez we reach the summit of Spanish art.[2] Born in Seville, and educated in the school of the elder Herrera and the gentle Pacheco, he flung in his lot with the Naturalists and took Nature unadorned for his inspiration and guide.[3] With an eye for the powerful effects of simplicity and a heart in love with the real and noble, he has enriched the world with many a great picture and influenced the men of art in every land. A sublime portrait-painter and a great Court favourite, he did not lavish much of his art on Christ or the Church, though he painted several pictures of the Son of Man, including one of the greatest "Crucifixions" the world

[1] Compare also Ribera's wonderful "Holy Trinity," in the Escorial.

[2] A.D. 1599–1659. Died of ague due to over-fatigue. His career was one of extraordinary triumph. Received at Court of Philip IV., in Madrid, when only twenty-four. Here his art painted all the celebrities of his day.

[3] Visited Italy twice, Venice, Naples, Rome, etc.

has ever seen. To his first period some assign the "Adoration of the Shepherds," in our National Gallery, and the "Adoration of the Kings," in the Prado, Madrid, both of which were painted before Velasquez was twenty years old.[1] They are coarse, naturalistic, and academic, yet not without power. In this early period, also, was painted "Christ in the House of Martha," finished about the same time, and now in our National Gallery. The picture is intensely realistic, and plainly marks the limitation of Velasquez in his treatment of Scriptural scenes. In the foreground is a Spanish kitchen, with an old lady instructing her cook what to do, while on the table lie uncooked fish, eggs, and other things. Away in the right-hand corner, as in a picture on the wall or a chamber beyond, is Christ with Martha and Mary. The interest, necessarily, is in the finely painted old lady and buxom young cook in the foreground, and one feels that the picture is sadly misnamed.

17. In the second period of his art, after his long sojourn in Italy,[2] we have his great "Crucifixion" and "Christ at the Column." The latter, after its long period of obscurity, is now one of the treasures of our National Gallery. It is interesting for many reasons, and should be closely studied. Velasquez usually painted straight on the canvas, seldom making a prior sketch, but here he made a careful study beforehand,[3] and painted the subject not only

[1] See reproduction in Sir W. Armstrong's *Velasquez*, p. 15, and his *Art of Velasquez*, p. 20. The London "Adoration" is perhaps more correctly assigned to Zurbarán. So assigned in official catalogue.

[2] 1629–1631. Berenson says of his sojourn in Venice that it went to form Velasquez. "He began as a sort of follower of Bassano, but his style was not fixed before he had given years of study to Veronese, to Tintoretto, and to Titian" (*Venetian Painters*, p. 71).

[3] Now in the Instituto Asturiano at Gizon.

with great care but with a touch of sublime pity and fine imagination. The scourging has just taken place, and the Christ is seated on the floor amid the birches and the blood-stained thongs. A cord still binds His hands to the column, and His shoulders are lashed with blood. The scourgers have retired, and the Sufferer is alone with His agony. At this moment (a fine imaginative touch) a child enters accompanied by his guardian angel. On bended knee, his hands folded in prayer, his head bent toward the Christ, it is plain that the child's prayer is not winging its flight to Heaven since his heart is filled with sorrow for the Sufferer. "It is pity for the suffering man," as one truly says, "rather than adoration of the God, that animates the childish face."[1] With downcast eyes, afraid to look on His open wounds, the angel points the child to the Christ. A ray of light streams from the Saviour's ear to the child's heart, as if to show that Christ heard his prayer or was comforted with his pity.[2] The pale beauty of the face of Christ, even in His suffering, and the charm of the praying child, make this picture a great religious force, a holy influence, a hand that moves the heart.

> "To see sad sights moves more than hear them told,
> For then the *heart* interprets to the *ear*
> The heavy motion that it doth behold."

18. Sir Walter Armstrong reckons this "Christ at the Column" incomparably the finest of all the religious

[1] C. Lewis Hind, in *Days with Velasquez*, p. 31. See, also, Carl Justi's *Velasquez and his Times*, p. 245, and Calvert and Hartley's *Velasquez*, p. 80.

[2] See our illustration. This picture was once called "The Institution of Prayer," the ear of God listening to the cry of a little child. Compare the fine "Christ at the Column" by Alonzo Cano and the poorer picture on the same subject by Murillo.

pictures of Velasquez, and indeed of the whole Spanish School.[1] Most critics, however, would give that honour to the "Crucifixion," in the Prado, painted six or seven years later.[2] Spanish art delighted in "Crucifixions" and "Flagellations," but it was not in the work of Morales, Juanes, Cano, or El Greco, Velasquez received his inspiration. While in Italy, he spent much time studying the "Crucifixion" of Tintoretto, and one is glad that here again he took his own line and refused to paint a crowded canvas. A lonely Christ upon His Cross against a black appalling background is all Velasquez has given us, a realistic painting of tremendous power touched with the poetry of the master's art and charged with imagination as noble as it is simple.[3] Though his brush painted chiefly things of earth, this great "Crucifixion" shows that Velasquez could move at will among the loftiest themes. "Unrelieved," says Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, in his fine critique of this masterpiece, "unrelieved by the usual dim landscape, or lowering clouds, the Cross in this picture has no footing upon earth, but is placed on a plain dark ground, like an ivory carving on its velvet pall. Never was that great agony more powerfully depicted. The head of our Lord droops on His right shoulder, over which falls a mass of dark hair, while drops of blood trickle from His thorn-pierced brows. The anatomy of the naked body and limbs is executed with as much precision as in Cellini's marble, which

[1] *Art of Velasquez*, p. 44.

[2] See Calvert and Hartley's *Velasquez*, p. 80, footnote.

[3] The single-figure "Crucifixion" was now the fashion among Flemish and Italian as well as Spanish artists. Compare Velasquez's noble rendering with Zurbarán's, a picture that may have influenced Velasquez's. See our illustration.

(he thinks) may have served Velasquez as a model; and the linen cloth wrapped about the loins, and even the fir wood of the Cross, display his accurate attention to the smallest details of a great subject."[1] "If there were nothing," says Cumberland, "but this single figure to immortalise the fame of Velasquez, this alone were sufficient."[2] The picture is the expression of the utter agony and loneliness of death by the most realistic of painters. "How many times," asks Sir Wyke Bayliss, "had Velasquez seen such suffering as that, in the living—the dying—faces of the martyrs in the city of Madrid, where the picture now hangs.[3] The picture in all probability was painted direct from nature, though not from a martyr on an Inquisition cross. "The figure," says Carl Justi, "is in the very position that would be taken by a model, or by the actor in the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, except that in the latter case the unendurable position would be betrayed by the symptoms of unrest."[4] This touch of unreality Velasquez could not avoid, though he may have hoped that the artistic religious feeling of the beholder would make up for what is lacking. With marvellous simplicity and overwhelming awe he paints his picture and leaves us with the Christ alone. The beautiful, well-shaped figure, the shadow, the foreshortened features, the veil of dark brown bloody hair over one side of the lovely face, the dark, mysterious background, and the solemn hush of death, all combine to make this "Crucifixion"

[1] *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, p. 619. See, also, his *Velasquez and his Works*, p. 131.

[2] *Anecdotes of Painters in Spain*, ii. p. 25.

[3] *Rex Regum*, p. 131.

[4] *Velasquez and his Times*, p. 237. Compare, also, *Velasquez*, by A. de Beruete, p. 44.

one of the most powerful art sermons painter ever preached. Intensely realistic, its reserve is convincing, and its imagination as noble as it is fair. The poetry of the dark brown blood-stained tresses half veiling the Sufferer's face is magnificent. Above all, the deep and solemn speech of the whole conception fills the heart with awe and makes one fall in prayer in presence of this great agony. Great as a work of art, it is greater still as a power to bring the soul into sympathy with the Christ in His lone love-tragedy. One of the last, if not the last, of the great revelations of Christ in art, it is as impressive as it is beautiful, and as poetic as it is dramatic. Above all, it has power to cleanse the life and hallow the soul. We pity the man who could look on it and then go out and sin. More, we pity the crowd that could stand before it and not pass to nobler doing. Life must be sweeter and stronger, and prayer must be cleansed and uplifted, once we have looked on the Christ of Velasquez.[1]

19. If Velasquez loved the court of the king and gave him much service, there can be no doubt that Murillo consecrated his talent to the Church and gave her the biggest place in his heart.[2] The great religious painter of Spain, the glory of Seville, the founder of the Andalusian School, Murillo was taught by Juan del Castillo, fired to enthusiasm by Pedro Moya, and sheltered and inspired by Velasquez. Under the influence of Velasquez in Madrid, he spent three years copying the masterpieces of the royal

[1] In his last and greatest period Velasquez painted only one great religious work, his "Coronation of the Virgin," with a beautiful Christ. This was one of the last works finished by the master.

[2] A.D. 1617–1682. Died from effects of fall from scaffold when painting his last picture, "The Marriage of S. Catherine," Cadiz.

galleries,[1] and then returned to Seville to enter on his long series of triumphs. A realist and idealist combined, he became exceedingly popular in his day and retains a great measure of his fame. Yet his work is scarcely satisfactory from the standpoint of high art or the criterion of truth. "Murillo's realism," as one has said, "was not the actuality of Velasquez and Zurbarán; he was not content simply to record what he saw. Instead, he painted what the Church had taught him men ought to see."[2] In these two facts, however popular in his day, lie his judgment for all time. "There is no element of permanence in Murillo's conceptions, and his work depends for its charm upon its execution, and not upon its inspiration. The painter's handling is at times excellent, and often we are carried away by the witchery of his colour. But intellectually we remain unsatisfied; instinctively we realise a want in the artistic ideal of his work. His pictures are like the fashions of a past age. We gaze upon them, we appreciate their significance for their own era, but to-day their message is silent, except as historical illustrations."[3]

20. This is particularly true of his numerous and beautiful pictures of the Immaculate Conception. In the

[1] A.D. 1643–1645.

[2] *Spanish Painting*, by C. G. Hartley, p. 203. Note, also, that Murillo painted in three styles—cold, warm, and vaporous: the first distinguished by cold colouring and dark shadows; the second by warmth of colouring, stronger contrasts of light and shade, and increased plasticity of form; the third by vaporous or misty effects of atmosphere enveloping the whole or part of the composition. The styles, however, cannot be distributed into periods definitely marked by one or another style. Naturalistic and spiritual motives also vary in Murillo's work. See on all this Caffin's *Story of Spanish Painting*, pp. 154–155.

[3] *Spanish Painting*, by C. G. Hartley (Mrs. Gallichan), p. 201.

year of his birth, the bull was issued that made the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception part of the creed of the Catholic Church. In Seville, as throughout Spain, it was received with enthusiasm, and in Murillo it found its great art exponent. The hold that it had on his heart, or the place the Church gave it in his life, may be learned from the pictures of it found in many Galleries. You will see them in the Louvre, Prado, Amsterdam, Seville, St. Petersburg, Cadiz, and elsewhere. In keeping with this marked tendency of Murillo's art are his numberless paintings of the Mother and Infant Christ. Always beautiful and always pleasing, they are the joy of all who love the Mother no less than the Son, however remote they may be from reality and however mystical in fact or in fancy.[1] Look at his "Annunciations" in the Prado, Amsterdam, and Seville; his "Assumptions" in the Wallace Collection, South Kensington, St. Petersburg, Louvre, and elsewhere; and his pictures of "Our Lady" alone, or in some mystical scene, in the Prado, Louvre, Seville, and other places. They are all beautiful, and pure as they are sweet. Whatever our Protestant Churches may think, Murillo thought of Mary the Mother of our Lord in terms as noble as they were clean and chaste as they were pure. So refined and so holy, the Mother painted by Murillo is lofty and lovely, a woman meet to be the Mother of our Lord, and, when she has the Child in her arms or by her side, the picture is truly a "Holy Family." No fairer pictures of the Mother and Child were ever painted, and few nobler pictures of the Child-Christ ever conceived than the

[1] "Murillo's Madonnas and Child-Christs are among the sweetest and most tender of religious pictures" (Sir Wyke Bayliss).

lovely Boy in the "Holy Family" now in our National Gallery.[1]

21. When we come to the Manhood years we discover the limitations of Murillo's art. He was supreme in his painting of the Childhood years, but had scarcely enough depth of thought or dramatic genius to paint the tragic story. The realism of Velasquez is missed and his power to make vivid the scene. We look in vain for a thrilling poetic touch or a sweep of fancy that will carry us to the heart of the subject. Yet there is realism and imagination in most of the pictures, and a fine reserve, and deep spiritual feeling. Look at his "Baptism" in Seville Cathedral, and say if it be not one of the finest you have seen. Part of its charm, however, beside the kneeling Christ, is in the baby-angels hovering near Him. "The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes," in Seville Hospital, is fine as a piece of scenic painting, but fails to carry the intention of the artist or make us realise the significance of the event. The Christ-figure is weak and inferior to

[1] See Murillo's "Nativities," in the National Gallery and Louvre; "Adorations of Shepherds," in Seville and Prado, Madrid; "Madonnas" and "Mother and Child," in the Pitti, Florence, Corsini, Rome, Dulwich, Louvre, Pitti, Prado ("Madonnas of the Rosary"), Seville, Hague, Prado, Dresden; "Holy Families," in Prado (the famous Child with the little bird and cat—rather a Christless conception), St. Petersburg, Chatsworth, National Gallery (our famous and beautiful picture, every detail of which is charming); "S. Joseph and the Infant Jesus," in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (two copies), and Seville; "Repose during Flight into Egypt," in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg; "Jesus and S. John" as children, in the Prado (the famous "Children of the Shell"); "The Child Jesus as Shepherd," in the Prado; "The Infant Christ Asleep," in the Prado, Earl of Normanton's, Sowerby, Hampshire, and Grosvenor House, London. Many of these pictures are of unearthly beauty, and one can easily understand their deep and holy influence on the religious life of Spain. See the lovely "Mother and Child," attributed to Murillo, which now hangs on the main staircase of our Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh.

that of Moses in the companion picture.[1] There is more power in his "Christ in the Garden," now in the Louvre, and more imagination too. One feels the agony and understands something of what the cup meant to Christ, when one has looked on this thought-racked face. But where is there in his "Christ at the Column," in the Louvre also, any indication that Murillo felt the pain of the scourging or the humiliation of Christ's dilemma? He gets nearer the heart of the tragedy in his "Ecce Homo," now in the Prado, as well as in the "Ecce Homo" in Cadiz. The first is a life-size bust and is the companion picture to "Our Lady of Sorrows," likewise in the Prado. The second is a half-length. Both give us the Christ-face only and concentrate our thought upon its revelation. No other figures or details appear.[2] We are called to look on the Christ-face alone. It is beautiful, chastened with sorrow, steeped in suffering, yet it does not tear our hearts with pain or drive us to desperate grief. It draws us, wins us, and compels us to look on this Man of Sorrows. It has calmness, dignity, spiritual charm, and irresistible attraction. The Prado picture is perhaps the more beautiful, the Cadiz painting the more powerful. A touch of pleasing sentimentality rests on the Prado Christ and a touch of winsome piety on the Cadiz conception. With all their limitations, however, no one can behold this Man without being the better of having looked on His face.

[1] Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell refers to the head of Christ in a picture, "The Healing of the Paralytic," once in Mr. Tomline's possession, as one of the finest delineations of manly beauty ever executed by Murillo (p. 865).

[2] In the Cadiz picture the wrists are bound with cords and the breast is bare. In the Prado picture the head is crowned with thorns and the neck only is bare. See our illustration from the Prado.

22. The "Crucifixions" of Murillo, also, are worthy of his consecrated brush, though not one of them has quite the haunting power of Velasquez's "Crucified Christ." The Christ in St. Petersburg, with three lovely Maries at the foot of the Cross, is perhaps the most poetic; the solitary Christ with appealing eyes uplifted against a stormy sky, in Czernin, with the skull and bones among the rocks, the most realistic; and the "Christ Crucified," in the Prado, with its hazy atmosphere and noble Figure, the most convincing. Compare, also, his poetic rendering of "S. Francis of Assisi supporting the Body of Christ nailed by the left hand to the Cross" and his "Deposition" or "Pietà," in Seville, both with a charming angel-child. His "Ascension of our Lord," in Madrid, is not so successful, though here, again, we have a Christ-face thoughtful and beautiful.[1]

[1] After Murillo and Velasquez, Spanish art came to its Decadence, though much good work was still done. Mazo, the pupil and son-in-law of Velasquez, excelled in portraits and landscape painting, but was not a religious painter; Juan de Pareja, another pupil of Velasquez, has a carefully painted Christ in his "Call of S. Matthew," in the Prado; Pereda, a serious-minded man one would think from his striking "Dream of Life" and "S. Jerome," Madrid; Collantes, a man of some vision, also; José Leonardo; Carreño, a good portrait-painter, has a singularly arresting "Magdalene" in Madrid, and many other religious paintings; his pupil, Cerezo, painted many sacred works, "Nativity," "Assumption," "Penitent Magdalene" before a crucifix, "S. John"; Cabezalero, another pupil of Carreño, painted an "Ecce Homo," "Crucifixion," "Calvary," and wonderful "Judgment of a Soul," now in the Prado; Antolinez has a striking "Ecstasy of the Magdalene" and "Assumption"; and Claudio Coello painted many mystical religious works. See, on all these, *The School of Madrid*, by A. de Beruete y Moret (1909). A brief revival of Spanish art came with Goya (1746–1828), a master of irony, even in his work for the Church. See his terrible picture, "The Fates." Fortuny (1838–1874) and Zuloago (b. 1870) among modern Spaniards have done fine realistic work, but no great Christ is being painted to-day. See, on these three, *Spanish Painting*, by C. G. Hartley, and *The Story of Spanish Painting*, by C. H. Caffin.

CHAPTER NINE

# THE CHRIST OF THE FLEMISH AND DUTCH

## SYNOPSIS

1. Early Flemish art.
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3. Hubert and John van Eyck.
4. Hubert's "Christ as King of Heaven."
5. Criticism of this Christ.
6. His "Adoration of the Lamb."
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19. Van Dyck's refined Christ.
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# CHAPTER NINE THE CHRIST OF THE FLEMISH AND DUTCH

PASSING from the great pictures of Italy and Spain, we come to the colder, Northern lands in quest of their tribute to Christ. With the light of the sun-kissed lands in our eyes, and their love of beauty in our hearts, it is not easy, at first, to see in the art of these Northern plains much that is worthy of love. Early Flemish, Dutch, and German art is not touched with the grace or beauty of Italian work, and does not show that fine spiritual rapture we find in the Christ of the Dawn and the Morning Hours. Yet each nation, in its own way, laid its gold at the feet of Christ, and each revealed its soul in its art, and painted pictures of the Christ that must be given a fitting place in any estimate of the world's best work.

2. In Flanders there lived a brave and honest people, who worked hard and lived the strenuous life, and won not only a name for clean and thrifty living but for many forms of art. Living in a land watered by the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, they fought the sea, and turned the low-lying swamps of Holland into fruitful fields. In every city in the land, in Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Brussels, Louvain, Liége, and later in Antwerp, the deep-rooted industry of the people led them to deeds of enterprise and daring, and inspired their guilds of painters, illuminators, and modellers. "Art," says Professor Wauters, "seemed to spring up from the soil unaided."[1] Under Philip the Good and the famous Dukes of Burgundy, it was nobly fostered, and in later times also found many patrons. Craftsmen of all kinds formed themselves into

[1] *The Flemish School of Painting*, p. 2.

well-ordered associations, painters, illuminators, tapestry-workers, and others. Every prince had his painter, illuminator, tapestry-worker, and every rich man cheered and encouraged the workers till, at last, there came to Flemish art craftsmen great in every sense, and of whom any nation might well feel proud.[1]

3. First of these, in point of time at least, were the two brothers Hubert and John van Eyck.[2] Born in the little town of Maaseyck, a veritable outpost of fame, the dates of their birth and the names of their parents are alike unknown. The elder, Hubert, is thought to have been born about 1365, the younger, John, about 1385; but these dates are purely speculative.[3] Little is known of Hubert's life, except that he won the freedom of Ghent some time before 1425, and died there 1426. John's history from 1422 till his death in 1441 is well known, and is a record of brilliant achievement in the service of the Court and the higher realms of art.[4] Of the works painted by Hubert and John in collaboration, there is none greater than the polyptych painted for Ghent

[1] *The Flemish School of Painting*, pp. 16–31.

[2] It has been said, wrongly, that the Van Eycks discovered oil-painting. As a matter of fact some process of oil-painting was practised as early as the eleventh century. They discovered rather a new process of mixing oils with a quick drying varnish which gave depth and permanence to their colour. This new discovery has given us the distinctive colouring known as "the purple of Van Eyck," which ranks with the "gold of Titian" and the "silver of Veronese." Compare Wilmot Buxton and Poynter's *German, Dutch, and Flemish Painting*, p. 73, and Principal Laurie's *Materials of the Painter's Craft*, p. 279 ff.

[3] Compare *Hubert and John van Eyck*, by W. H. James Weale, the finest account of their life and work.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 2–26. Compare, also, the beautiful account from the viewpoint of their sister Margaret's heart in Charles Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth*.

Rex Regum.

*Van Eyck.*

*Photograph by Hanfstaengl.* *Page* 242.

Rex Regum.

Van Eyck.

Photograph by Hanfstaengl.

Page 242.

REX + REGVM

Healing the Lame Man

*Van Dyck.*

*Photograph by Hanfstaengl.*

*Page* 260.

Photography for Hairdressers.

Page 300.

Keeping the Trade Warm

New Device.

Cathedral.[1] It contains many panels on both sides, two of which, on the interior, are of commanding importance in our study. One is a noble and characteristic Flemish portrait of "Christ as King," in the highest central panel.[2] On either side are portraits of the Mother and S. John Baptist, and below these there is the famous painting of "The Adoration of the Lamb"—the second of the two panels of special interest to us.

4. The Christ-portrait is a great piece of work, and is a noble conception of the place of Christ in the life of the world and of time. It marks, also, in form and feature, a great change in the painting of Christ, and is quite different, in these respects, from the later portraits of the Christ by John van Eyck. It is generally agreed that this great picture of Christ was painted by Hubert though finished by John. It has the "sublimity" which marks Hubert's work and has been pronounced "one of the grandest creations of all art . . . paralleled only by the head of Christ in Dürer's picture of the 'Adoration of the Saints,' now in Vienna."[3] "Here eyes do regard you from Eternity's stillness," says Goethe. Solemn of mien, majestically calm, this is no poor Man of Nazareth, but a King clad in fine raiment and gorgeously decked withal. On His brow is a "white tiara encircled with three bands of gold set with amethysts, diamonds, and a profusion of pearls," while its lappets, adorned with crosses, fall on each side of His face. "Over a robe girt with a tasselled cord," says their latest biographer, "He wears a splendid red mantle fastened in front by a large circular jewelled morse,

[1] Now divided between Ghent, Berlin, and Brussels.
[2] Sometimes called "God the Father."
[3] Sir Wm. Martin Conway, in *Early Flemish Art*, p. 133.

leaving visible one band of a precious stole crossed over His breast, showing the word 'SABAWT' formed by pearls. The mantle has a jewelled border very deep at the foot and charged with the words 'ANANX ANANXIN PEX PEIV' (King of Kings), partly in Greek characters. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing, while with the left He holds a sceptre of crystal with mountings and a finial of gold, of exquisite workmanship,—this and a crown on the pavement at His feet, symbolizing the kingdoms of the earth, are splendid specimens of the goldsmith's art. A brocaded cloth of honour stretched across the back of the throne shows, in gold on a dark blue ground, a nest in which a pelican is billing its breast, the blood falling on its young and restoring them to life, this symbolical design being surrounded by vine-branches laden with grapes and a scroll inscribed 'IHESVS XPS.'"[1]

5. About the dignity and the gorgeousness of the Figure there can be little doubt; it is a veritable triumph of the goldsmith's art and the loom-craft of Flanders. About its noble intention, too, and its great conception of Christ as King of Kings and Lord of Earth and Time, there can be no question: it tells in every gorgeous line the splendour and magnificence of His throne. But as a satisfying portrait of the Christ it is weak, and as a spiritual expression of His kingship it is stupid. It is more concerned with clothing than with Christ, and more intent on "splendid specimens of the goldsmith's art" than with heavenly thoughts of the King. As an exposition in terms of the "Golden Legend" of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine[2] it is superb, but as a vision of the Christ it is soulless. As a picture of

[1] *Hubert and John van Eyck*, by W. H. James Weale, p. 38. See our illustration.

[2] See *ibid.* p. 37.

the matter-of-fact theology of the Flemish heart it is magnificent, but as a revelation of the lofty spiritual glory of Christ it is hopeless. Lacking in all the higher powers of imagination and spirit, it is of the earth earthy and suggests not one spiritual thought of the glory of the King of Heaven. Instead of a spiritual King we have an over-dressed Teuton, and instead of sublimity we have vanity. It may be gorgeous prose, but not one gleam of poetry lies on the whole conception. We stand before Van Eyck's Christ and are not drawn to nobler thoughts or lifted to wonder, or worship, or love.[1]

6. Immediately beneath this Christ, and the attendant Mother and Baptist in the original polyptych, is the famous "Adoration of the Lamb."[2] This strange symbolic picture finds its inspiration in the Apocalypse of S. John and the liturgical literature of the Middle Ages.[3] It is so entirely symbolical and liturgical that we have little need to describe it or discuss it here. Treated in a decorative spirit, and composed with almost geometric precision, we have many well-dressed groups of men and angels, kneeling or standing in a flowery meadow. On an altar covered with a white cloth stands a spotless Lamb from whose breast a stream of blood is flowing into a golden chalice. By the side of the altar and the Lamb, kneeling angels, their wings outspread, hold high the symbol of the Cross. Beyond a lovely architectural background is the rising sun, golden, in

[1] Compare, also, the "Holy Face," now in Royal Gallery, Munich, once attributed to Memling, but now thought by Mr. Weale to be the earliest and best copy of a lost original probably painted by Hubert (*Hubert and John van Eyck*, p. 166).

[2] The original of which is still in Ghent Cathedral.

[3] See Mr. Weale's *Hubert and John van Eyck*. Compare Revelation, chap. iv.

a cloudless sky, and shedding its brightest rays around the Lamb. In the centre of the foreground is a fountain with jets of water flowing, and beside this, to right and left, two great groups of glorious paintings. To the right are grouped princes, prophets, philosophers, poets, Jewish and Gentile, men of every time and nation who looked for the coming of a Great Redeemer. To the left are painted the pioneers and mighty of the Christian Church, apostles, popes, bishops, abbots, saints, and in particular the patron saint of Ghent, with many other monks and clerks. The picture is a magnificent illustration of the mediæval vision and of the flowering art of Flanders. It is noble alike in conception and execution, and is worthy of much study.[1]

7. Coming to the work of John van Eyck, we find still further illustration of the materialistic ideas of the Middle Ages in the intense realism of his art. Without a touch of originality, in faith or in vision, he is content to paint the thoughts of a thousand years, and to paint them with the patient realism and painstaking fidelity characteristic of the Flemish soul. The Mother and Child was painted by him a score of times at least, but one is never tempted to the worship of Mary the Mother when one stands before the Flemish women painted by John van Eyck. One of the finest is the "Mother and Child" at Ince Hall, in the execution of which it is easy to see the influence of Siena. But one has only to look at the treatment of this subject in the Bruges Town Gallery, Antwerp Museum, Dresden Royal Gallery, and Frankfort Institute to see that John was more

[1] Compare with this picture Van Eyck's "Fountain of Living Water," now in the Prado, Madrid, though this is probably only a copy of the long-lost original. See, also, John's "Saviour with the Mother and S. John," in the Prado, attributed by some to Hubert van Eyck.

interested in architecture and decorative accessories than in the unfolding glory of holy motherhood. Never, surely, had Mother a more gorgeous architectural setting than "Our Lady and Child Enthroned," in the Royal Gallery, Dresden.[1]

8. In the painting of the Christ of adult years the same ornate decorative accessories are again in evidence. The Byzantine features and Byzantine theology are also closely followed. Yet there can be little doubt that the painting is marvellous in its realism, of great strength and sincerity. Whatever John van Eyck could not do, he could paint a great and noble Flemish portrait. With little depth of soul and little spiritual fire, he painted the face of Christ faithfully, reverently, and with true affection, but with little charm. This may be seen in his "Christ with the Mother and Baptist," in the Prado, Madrid, where we have the grouping of the great Ghent polyptych repeated, with a Christ-face that is beautiful in its solemnity and grace. Mark, however, Van Eyck's fondness for gorgeous raiment and lovely sculptured architectural effects. Apart from this, John is thought to have painted another Face of Christ, now lost, and has signed a "Holy Face," originally in a convent at Burgos, but now in the Royal Gallery, Berlin. It is the same type of face as in the Prado picture, solemn, serene, noble, pure. According to the signature, it was painted in 1438. Solemn and serene as this Face undoubtedly is, it is regarded by many critics as proof conclusive that John, even less than Hubert, had neither power

[1] Compare also "Our Lady and Child," in Paris (Baron Gustave Rothschild), London (M. Heyman-Ellis), Paris (Louvre), Berlin (Royal Gallery, three pictures), and New York (Metropolitan Museum). See, also, his "Annunciation" in Berlin (Royal Gallery), St. Petersburg (Hermitage), and Dresden (Royal Gallery).

nor passion wherewith to paint a satisfying Christ.[1] A similar and still less satisfying "Holy Face" may be seen in the Bruges Town Gallery. Though signed "Johannes de Eyck, Inventor, 1440," this is almost certainly a copy, and, at best, a very poor imitation. With still less feeling and less spiritual charm, this portrait reveals the Van Eyck tradition at its very worst.[2] We can bear it, however, and even look upon it with some pleasure, but who can behold the "Christ on the Cross,"[3] now in the Royal Gallery, Berlin, or the "Calvary" and "Last Judgment,"[4] now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, with anything short of pain? Whether they are by Hubert or John, or by both, they are to me appalling.[5] "The Saint-Petersburg 'Calvary' and 'Last Judgment,'" says a critic, "are not only beyond reasonable doubt John van Eyck's own, but they must, as creations of absolute originality, be counted among the most wonderful things of the Netherlandish School at this period." This may be allowed to pass with a smile, but one wonders at the man who can look at this "Calvary" and write: "Hardly has the Crucifixion been imagined with this rugged force and grandeur, with this power of intense individualization which yet robs the world-tragedy of none of its significance."[6]

9. Contemporary with the Van Eycks were many fine

[1] Compare Crowe, Bode, Seeck, and others.

[2] Compare Passavant, Kugler, Seeck, and W. H. James Weale. See the last-named author's *Hubert and John van Eyck* on both portraits, pp. 166–169, with reproductions of pictures and frames and signatures.

[3] Believed by Voll (1906) to be a panel painted in latter half of fifteenth century, and possibly copied from a lost work by Hubert or John.

[4] Panels of a triptych.

[5] Compare Hotho (Hubert or John), Justi (John), De Mont (Hubert), Passavant (John).

[6] Phillips, in the *North American Review*, 714 (1899). See reproductions in Mr. Weale's monograph, p. 146.

painters, chief among whom were Petrus Christus, Hugo van der Goes, and Roger van der Weyden. Christus has a "Crucifixion," now in the Hermitage, and a "Last Judgment," now in Berlin. The madly eccentric Hugo van der Goes painted a "Nativity" for the Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. Extraordinary stories are told of his eccentric pageants and drunken revels.[1] Greater far and of a nobler type was Roger van der Weyden, a master who has only lately come to his own.[2] Long thought to be a pupil of John van Eyck, it is now proved that he was his rival rather, and it is now acknowledged that his influence as a master-painter in the fifteenth century was greater even than Van Eyck's.

[1] Compare Buxton and Poynter's handbook, p. 82. Apropos of Hugo's wonderful light and shade, Sir W. Martin Conway has some remarks well worth pondering: "Some painters rejoice in colour; they are usually happy men full of gaiety and simpleness of heart. Others look first for light, if it be but a far-off glimmer, to pierce the gloom that shrouds them in. They are for ever praying the prayer of Ajax; they are men upon whom the stress of things lies heavy. They wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but they walk in darkness. The art of all such men is an intellectual art. They paint to satisfy the thoughts rather than to delight the eye. This is no empirical generalization, it is a demonstrable truth. Take the great chiaroscurists of bygone days—Rembrandt, Tintoret, Leonardo da Vinci, Jan van Eyck, Turner—every one of them is a man of deep thought, on the whole, sad. Take the colourists in their turn—Bellini, Cima, Giorgione, Titian, Holbein, Reynolds; as far as we know, or can infer anything about them, they are without exception joyous. Follow out the comparison amongst the poets, and you will find the same result: those who are always telling the colours of things are happy; those who speak of the light upon things are thoughtful, and usually terribly in earnest. When

> 'The white kine glimmered, and the trees
> Laid their dark arms about the field;
> A hunger seized my heart,'

says Tennyson. Hungry of heart likewise was Hugo, if his picture tells the truth, and what else can it tell?" (*Early Flemish Artists*, pp. 193–194). See his "Trinity" in the National Gallery, Edinburgh.

[2] Born in Tournai A.D. 1399 or 1400, he died in Brussels 1464.

A man of deep and sincere religious conviction, he visited Italy and retained his original Flemish style. The darker, deeper side of religion appealed to him, the Christ and the Church in their agony, and hence we have no smiling Virgins or happy Infants from the brush of Van der Weyden, but the tragedies of the Cross and of the Judgment, again and again.[1] Twice he painted the "Descent from the Cross," now in Madrid [2] and Louvain, sombre pictures both of them. The pathos of his "Entombment," now in our National Gallery, is typical of much of his work. A characteristic little triptych in the Berlin Museum paints for us the "Nativity," a "Dead Christ" in the lap of Mary, and the "Risen Christ" appearing to His mother, the colouring of all three being of much charm and significance.[3]

10. His masterpiece is his "Last Judgment," in the Hospital at Beaune. It should be compared with Orcagna's, and may be taken as the Flemish variant of Orcagna's great work. It is an altarpiece with many panels, in the centre of which is a noble Christ judging the world. He stands upon the globe, His right hand uplifted as if in argument, His left outstretched as if in pity, a majestic, kindly, unforbidding Judge. Below Him is a lovely angel, with a pair of scales in which the souls of men are being weighed. To right and left, in many a simple and expressive panel, the story of the world is told from the "Expulsion from Eden" to the "Fate of the Damned" in hell. The intense realism and intense religious conviction of Van der Weyden is evident in every panel, and in none more than that which

[1] See, however, his "Adoration of the Kings," in the Pinakothek, Munich, and his "S. Luke painting the Virgin," also in Munich.

[2] In the Escorial, and a copy in the Prado.

[3] See Sir W. Martin Conway on his symbolic use of colour in this and other works (*Early Flemish Artists*, pp. 165–166).

shows the souls of the damned falling headlong into the flames of hell. In judging the picture, one has to keep in mind the religious temper of his day and the sympathies of the painter. To judge it from our modern standpoint would be foolish, and to expect in it the theological charity of the modern world would be ridiculous. "This very quality which makes Roger's work less popular now than Jan van Eyck's made it more popular in Roger's day," says Sir W. Martin Conway. "Everybody was then a Christian of the old-fashioned Catholic type. Everybody understood and could appreciate a work like this. The painter addressed the people of his day in the language of the day. Art being chiefly enlisted in the service of the Church, religious painting of this type produced a much more widespread effect than the higher and more original work of a man who spoke to men merely as men, and that some century and a half before Shakespeare." [1] Like Botticelli, Roger van der Weyden loved the sad and gloomy side of life, and hovered fondly over the pain and sorrow of souls, but he had not that great master's originality and sense of beauty with which to redeem his sombre work.[2]

11. Few will doubt the happy dictum that Van der Weyden's greatest glory was his pupil Memling, "that Memlinc the artist was Roger's best work." [3] Of the life of this master comparatively little is known. For long his name was covered with romance, and many fictitious stories were told of his achievements, and it is only in recent years that anything definite has been known of him.[4] The

[1] *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 168.

[2] Van der Weyden's elongated figures also offend the modern eye.

[3] Sir W. Martin Conway.

[4] Born about 1430, and died in Bruges A.D. 1494. Compare *Hans Memlinc*, by W. H. James Weale (1901).

celebrated "Last Judgment" at Dantzig, long attributed by many to Van Eyck and others, is attributed by his latest biographer to Memling,[1] though other works ascribed to him are now regarded as unauthenticated.[2] There can be little doubt, however, that Memling was pre-eminently a religious artist and that his spirit was steeped in the beautiful mysticism of the school of Cöln.[3] To poetry was added piety in his life, and the love of all that is beautiful and pure. But he had no depth and little passion. The pain and sorrow that troubled Roger van der Weyden and the shadows that passed over the soul of Hugo van der Goes never touched the sunny heart of Memling. Like Fra Angelico, he lives in a world of dreams and pious labour. It is a land, says Sir W. Martin Conway, "in which it seemeth always afternoon," a place like

> "the island-valley of Avilion
> Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep meadowed, happy, fair with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea."

12. In this "island-valley" of his dreams Memling lived his unruffled life, working hard, void of all ambition, and unfretted by the fever of the world. His hands, like those of his famous portrait at Bruges, the portrait of Martin van Newenhoven, are folded in prayer. Like Martin van Newenhoven, also, his eyes are on the Mother and Child. The purity and holiness of Mary, the simplicity and sweetness of the Infant Jesus, hold him more

[1] Compare *Memlinc*, by W. H. J. and J. C. Weale, p. 72, and *Hans Memlinc*, by W. H. J., pp. 71–75.

[2] *Hans Memlinc*, pp. 59–68.

[3] *Memlinc*, by W. H. J. and J. C. Weale, p. 31. But compare *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 251.

than anything of time. Thus Memling painted the Madonna again and again, and painted her in such a way as to redeem Flemish art from the charge of not being able to produce a beautiful Mother or Child. Look at the pictures of them now in S. John's Hospital, Bruges, the National Gallery, London, Chatsworth, and other places, and you will see how Memling loved the Mother and Child and joined with the angelic and the great in lowly adoration and pious praise. It is in this world of worship, of holy motherhood and simple childhood, that the real Memling is revealed. As a portrait-painter, too, he excels, but when one comes to his pictures of the Passion of Jesus, and looks at them even with a kindly eye, one feels that he is painting from the book and not from the heart, that the tragedy is beyond the serenity of his spirit, and that the hand has no cunning here because the heart has no passion.

13. The truth of this may be seen by a study of his marvellous "Passion of Christ," at Turin, or his equally wonderful "Light of the World," at Munich.[1] On the "Passion" panel the whole story of the tragic days is crowded into a series of pictures, which are separated from each other by an architectural device far from pleasing. In detail the work is wonderful; as a whole it not only fails to impress but fails to meet the demands of all great painting. It is a panoramic "Passion," and it is as swiftly forgotten as a swiftly passing scene. The artist has attempted too much, and has only succeeded in darkening the vision. From the "Entry into Jerusalem" to the "Resurrection" and "Ascension," every scene in the tragic story is told in impossible space. The Betrayal, the Lord's

[1] Sometimes called "The Seven Joys of the Virgin."

Supper, Gethsemane, Christ before Pilate, scourged, crowned with thorns, mocked, crucified, dead, buried, in limbo, all are here for our bewilderment, though many of the details are painted with marvellous patience. His "Light of the World" is a panoramic picture of the same type, taking incidents in the life of the Mother for its theme rather than those of the Passion. The scenes in which Memling paints the Mother bending over her new-born Child, or holding Him on her knee for the homage of the wise, or that in which he shows the Risen Christ appearing to His mother, are full of charm, though the general impression, again, is one of bewilderment and confusion.[1] Viewed as a whole, these panels may be marvels of composition enhanced by brilliant colouring and every scene in them a delicately finished miniature, but alike in detail and in whole they leave us wondering why Memling could have chosen such a form in which to tell the great story.[2] There is joy in the painting, and beauty on many a face, with many a lovely idyllic touch, but the mind wearies and the eye tires as they pass from scene to scene in search of eternal significance.[3] Each scene was worthy of a triumph of its own, and Memling would have enriched his great fame and added to the joy of the world had he taken his brush and painted for us a series of noble pictures of the Great Redeemer.

14. If Memling lived in a mediæval world of dreams,

[1] Compare Sir W. Martin Conway on the poetry and realism of many of the details (*Early Flemish Artists*, pp. 249–252).

[2] Compare *Memlinc*, by W. H. J. and J. C. Weale, p. 47.

[3] Compare, also, Memling's triptych at Pesht, and his "Bearing of the Cross" at Vienna, and study his "Calvary" in Lübeck Cathedral, where we have the same limitations, with some evidence, however, that the dawn of the new era was beginning to enter the heart of Memling. Compare *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 255.

he was succeeded by a host of Flemish artists to whom came the golden light of the Renaissance and the new spirit of the Reformation. Patenier, Lucas van Leyden, and Quentin Matsys were each of them cast in the new thought and proved themselves "men to whom the ideals of Memling were nothing but a dream from which they were glad to be awakened."[1] It must be confessed that the awakening was not for the world's immediate good so far as its art is concerned. The Flemish artists "turned away from Madonnas and saints to the cows of the pasture, the pigs of the farmyard, and the horses of the fair; from the landscape of Heaven with its population of the blest to the flats of Holland and the boers of the tavern and the skittle-ground; from the angelic hierarchies of the firmament to the ships of the sea and the fishing-boats of Scheveningen."[2] Not till the revolution was accomplished and men settled down to look facts in the face was it seen that the power of art is independent of creeds, dogmas, and philosophies, and rests alone upon "the exhaustless capacity of men for delight in the world of nature and the realms of fancy."[3] Patenier was a good landscape painter and a man of much influence in early sixteenth-century art, but he made no great contribution to Christian art.[4] His "Baptism of Christ" in Vienna, "Flight into Egypt" in Antwerp, "Magdalene at Prayer" in Brussels, and "Crucifixion" in the National Gallery, London, will show his worth. Lucas van Leyden was a good engraver, and better at painting "A Card Party" than the Christ. There is a "Last Judgment" by him in

[1] Compare *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 255.
[2] Sir W. Martin Conway, in *Early Flemish Artists*, p. 302.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 302.
[4] Died in Antwerp A.D. 1524.

the Town House, Leyden, but it is a weak production and unworthy of the dawn.[1]

15. Quentin Matsys, the "Blacksmith of Antwerp" and founder of the Netherland School of art, throws aside the conventions of the ages and paints the Christ with much dramatic power.[2] A man of great originality and masculine force, he was also capable of much tenderness and deep feeling. His most famous work is an altarpiece, now in Antwerp Museum, depicting the "Entombment of Christ."[3] There is great power and much feeling shown in the painting of the women and the male mourners as they make ready the Crucified for the tomb; and in the Dead Christ, stiff and cold in the grip of the "last enemy," we have masterly work. No one can look on this Christ without feeling the depths of the problems raised by the fact of death itself, and the fact that death touched that holy body. "There are heads in this picture," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "not exceeded by Raphael, and indeed not unlike his manner of painting portraits, hard and minutely finished." Other pictures of the living Christ by Matsys may be seen in Antwerp and elsewhere. They are half-length portraits of much originality. They must have been very popular creations, for they were repeated more than once.[4] Two of these in Antwerp reveal the Flemish artist's thought of the world's Saviour and the Suffering Servant. In the first, we have a beautiful and refined face, untouched by pain or

[1] A.D. 1494–1533.

[2] Born in Louvain A.D. 1466, son of a blacksmith or locksmith. Died A.D. 1530.

[3] Sometimes called the "Embalming of Christ." For this great picture Matsys received only £25.

[4] Generally he painted diptychs of Christ as "Salvator Mundi," and Mary His mother with hands folded in prayer, as in the diptych in our National Gallery, London.

woe, a jewelled cross in His left hand, His right upraised to bless. The eyes look out of the canvas straight at one, and make a silent and gracious appeal. The whole conception is beautiful and winning. In the second, the face is "marred more than any man, and His form more than the sons of men." The conception is indeed an astonishment, and when we see it there is "no beauty that we should desire Him." This Christ is truly "stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted," and, literally, we hide our faces from Him. Yet the vision haunts us, and there is no getting away from the tremendous originality and power of the conception. Living grief, overwhelming sorrow, were never more powerfully painted. Other two Christs by Matsys may be seen in our National Gallery. The one in the diptych of Christ and His mother resembles the beautiful "Salvator Mundi" just described. It is equally winning, though somewhat deeper in tone. The Flemish features fail to mar the beauty and dignity of Matsys' Christ, and must have made his work of great religious influence in the Flanders of his day.

16. During the next hundred years Flemish art feebly felt the force of the Italian Renaissance. Jan Gossart, commonly called Mabuse, travelled in Italy and brought to Flanders the habits of the great Italians.[1] He has a fine "Christ in the House of Simeon," in Brussels, a fanciful "Luke painting the Virgin,"[2] at Prague, and an excellent "Adoration of the Kings," in London.[3] Jean Mostaert,[4] the last of the Flemish-Gothic painters, has a typical "Adoration" in Brussels, and Bernard van Orley,[5] the Romanist, has a powerful "Deposition" in St. Petersburg,

[1] Died A.D. 1532.
[2] A favourite subject in Flanders.
[3] The Castle Howard "Adoration" now in the National Gallery.
[4] Died A.D. 1556.
[5] Died A.D. 1542.

while Peter de Kampeneer[1] repeats the latter subject in a famous "Descent" in Seville Cathedral, a picture Murillo much admired.[2] But it is not till we come to the great name of Rubens that we have Flemish art in the ascendant again. Born in 1577 and dying in 1640, in his three-score years and three Rubens made himself and his art famous all over the world. "He is the best workman with his tools that ever managed a pencil," says Sir Joshua Reynolds. "So long as he confines himself to space and outward figure, to the mere animal man with animal passions, he is, I may say, a god among painters," says Coleridge. Ruskin considers Rubens and Rembrandt the "two greatest men" of the seventeenth century, "both deeply stained by the errors and affectations of their age."[3] Rubens' utter abandonment of joy in fatness and flesh is his "deepest stain," not only in his classical pictures but in his sacred work. The great story of the Son of Man appealed to him, its charm, its tragedy, its dramatic possibilities, but his hand was not hallowed with prayer or his heart chastened with the touch of the Holy Spirit. Hence we have many pictures of the Christ from the hand of Rubens, famous all the world over, and great often as fine art, but far from satisfying to the soul in love with Jesus.[4]

[1] A.D. 1503–1580.

[2] It has been compared with Rubens' great "Deposition."

[3] *Works*, v. 400.

[4] His unspirituality and joyous love of flesh may be seen in his "Adoration of the Kings," Louvre, Antwerp, Brussels, Prado; in his "Holy Families," Antwerp, Wallace Collection, Potsdam, Pitti, Prado, Windsor, New York, Vienna, and Duke of Sutherland's collection; "Madonnas," Louvre, Munich, Worms; and "Infant Christ," Vienna. Compare, however, the lovely "Infant Christ and S. John at Play," at present in possession of Mr. John S. Murray, of Selkirk. Called the "Spinola Rubens" from having been long in the Spinola family, this is

Deposition from the Cross.

*Rubens.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.* *Page* 258.

Deposition from the Cross.

Rubens.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

Page 258.

Christ at Emmaus.

*Rembrandt.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

Christ at Emmaus.

Rembrandt.

Photogravure by M. A. Wansell & Co.

17. Passing by his pictures of Christ's "Baptism" and "Transfiguration" we come to his world-famed Passion pictures.[1] The "Elevation of the Cross" and "Deposition," in Antwerp Cathedral, are among the most famous pictures in the world. There can be no doubt about their marvellous grouping and powerful painting. In the first, the Christ is lying on the Cross, and a group of vigorous, muscular men are struggling with the Cross to lift it and plunge it into the ground. Every figure is a marvel of painting, and the Christ has dignity and serenity as well as mighty bodily form, as He looks up to heaven with an unfathomable and tranquil expression of melancholy and silent pleading. "His head," says Max Rooses in his great work on *Rubens*, "is the finest ever painted by Rubens, not to say the finest ever painted by anyone; every fibre of it complains, prays, and hopes, breathes anguish and confidence at once, and expresses the prayer of the God-Man to His Father which is in heaven."[2] Rubens himself appears in the picture as a knight clad in armour: he is toiling at the task like the other executioners, yet his thoughts are with the Christ; he

a beautiful and refined rendering of a not too common theme. Painted in 1615, according to one authority, it is attributed to Rubens by Giovanni Battista Villa, L. G. Barrau, Antonin Proust, Heyermans, Dr. G. C. Williamson, and others. There can be no doubt of its great beauty or of its superb draftsmanship and colour. It is a charming tribute to the Infant Christ. See *Frontispiece.*

[1] I pass, also, his "Flagellation," "In the House of Simon" (a typical Rubens), "Woman taken in Adultery," "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," "Walking on the Sea," "Resurrection of Lazarus," "Last Supper," "Crowning with Thorns," and "Christ bearing the Cross," where Rubens' fat wife, Helen Fourment, is more in the picture than the thorn-crowned fallen Christ. See reproduction in Max Rooses' *Rubens*, p. 580, and Edward Dillon's *Rubens*, plates 408–409.

[2] *Rubens*, by Max Rooses, p. 133.

looks on Him with compassion, deeply moved with His suffering.[1]

18. The companion masterpiece, "The Deposition from the Cross," likewise in Antwerp Cathedral, is reckoned one of the twelve greatest pictures in the world.[2] Its greatness as a marvellous bit of painting, in grouping, colour, and dramatic effect, is beyond all cavil. There is movement and character in every face and figure, and the beautiful white body of Christ, as it is lowered to the white shroud made ready to receive it, is a creation that has power to charm for ever. Indeed, it is this white body against the white shroud that is for ever casting its spell upon our hearts. Christ is dead, with life as it seems beyond recall. There is no hope on any face, and no hint of the dawn in any eye. Yet the men and women toil lovingly at their task, and every hand is lifted to tend that Dead Christ. The marks of the nails and the spear and the thorns are there, but the body is not worn or wasted, not elongated or repulsive in any way. It is the big, muscular, fleshy type that Rubens loved to paint. The light and shade are wonderful; the ruddy glow of the setting sun is Heaven's last gift to help the loved ones at their task. Never was death more powerfully painted or love more beautifully rendered. Yet the general effect is appalling beyond words for all who look for the morning and demand the resurrection hope in the midst of death. Rubens declines to idealise the body of Christ, and declines to go beyond the facts of the moment. A great realist, he is content to paint love and death

[1] Other "Elevations of the Cross" by Rubens may be seen in the chapel of the Hospital, Grasse, and in the Louvre, Paris, both different, and very striking.

[2] See our illustration.

here, and wait till another day to paint the Resurrection.[1]

19. In Van Dyck we have a pupil of Rubens and the last of the great Flemings here named. Early rising to fame and fortune, he came to England, painted for James I., became Court painter for Charles I., and the fashionable portrait-painter of his day, and died at Blackfriars in 1641.[2] Fit to be linked with Titian and Velasquez as portrait-painter, he has the touch of idealism lacking in Rubens, though without his marvellous range of invention. The incidents of the Passion specially drew him, and his pictures show how reverently and impressively he treated the theme. In his heart desirous of fame as a historical painter, he became the craze of his day among British portrait-painters, yet found in his great pictures of Christ

[1] Compare other "Depositions" by Rubens in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, and the Museum, Lille. See also his "Crucifixions," with Christ alone, in Antwerp, Vienna, Munich, and with other figures in the Louvre and Antwerp (the great "Le Coup de Lance"); his "Dead Christs" in Vienna, Antwerp, and the Prado, Madrid, with their faithful revelation of death; the great "Trinity" at Antwerp; the "Entombment" at Vienna and Munich; the fearful "Lamentation over the Dead Saviour" at Berlin; the "Resurrection" at Marseilles; the extraordinary "Ascension" at Vienna; the "Little Last Judgment" and the "Great Last Judgment" at Munich, with the treatment of the same theme at Dresden. In all of these works we have Rubens' characteristics repeated again and again—immense originality, powerful grouping and painting, marvellous realism, love of the nude, and choice of big, fat, and muscular types. Coarse to the point almost of sensuality, he glories in his love of the flesh at every turn. Lacking in spirituality and pious affectation, he is frankly in love with the world, and refuses to idealise even the Christ. See Max Rooses' and Edward Dillon's monographs for reproductions of these and many other Christ-pictures by Rubens.

[2] Born in Antwerp, A.D. 1599. Buried hard by the tomb of John of Gaunt in Old St. Paul's, London. He married a Scottish lady of the house of Ruthven.

a way to the realisation of his ambition. "Christ betrayed by Judas" he painted many times, while his fine "Redeemer with Penitents"[1] shows how his young heart responded to the pity of the Christ.[2] His treatment of the nude is idealised rather than realistic, the nude of Titian and Correggio, and shows an innate shrinking from the exuberant fleshiness of Rubens. His types of figures, however, are all borrowed from Rubens, and Van Dyck's Christ is merely Titian's type as seen by Rubens, without the latter's excessive delight in fatness and strength. The conception of the disciple is more refined and spiritual than that of the master, and one can always look with pleasure on the sacred work of Van Dyck.[3]

20. His "Erection of the Cross,"[4] with its agonising portrayal of the suffering of the body, should be compared with Rubens' great picture in Antwerp Cathedral. Van Dyck's domain, as Rooses points out, was more in painting the suffering of the soul than the agony of the flesh, yet the work is a masterly representation of the agony of the "Erection."[5] His fine sympathy with the suffering of souls, and his refined sense of the pain through which they are passing, may be seen in his beautiful "Christ taken down from the Cross."[6] The figure of Christ is beauti-

[1] In Augsburg Gallery.

[2] See also his beautiful "Christ healing the Lame Man," in Buckingham Palace. It is reproduced in *Vandyck Pictures at Windsor, etc.*, by Law, plate xxx. See our illustration.

[3] Compare *Anthony Van Dyck*, by Lionel Cust, with illustrations in colour, plate iv.

[4] In the Church of the Holy Virgin, Courtray.

[5] See Max Rooses' masterly monograph with reproduction, pp. 48–49. In Antwerp Museum.

[6] Also in Antwerp Museum.

fully painted, while the love and sorrow of the Mother and Magdalene win our hearts profoundly. His "Christ in the Tomb," a "Lamentation over the Dead Christ," has the same intense power. The Dead Christ is reverently and tenderly painted, while the dramatic pose of the Mother and the hidden face of the weeping angel make haunting pictures that follow us many days. His "Mount Calvary"[1] has a calmly suffering Christ, in touching and striking contrast to the struggling thief on the right. The tragedy is calmly painted, and lacks the intense suffering seen in Rubens' representation of the same theme. Even the Mother is quiet and well in hand, as she looks up to her Suffering Son, and gently lifts her palms in mute appeal. There is more intensity of woe and passionate agony in his "Christ on the Cross with S. Francis of Assisi,"[2] but the face of Christ has less beauty and the dramatic intensity of the two Maries seems overdone. His "Christ on the Cross with S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena"[3] has a touch of poetry in it that makes it appeal to us. In the dim surrounding light the slender and delicate figure of Christ is powerfully painted. Two baby-angels are on His right and one at His feet between the grief-stricken Dominic and Catherine. This is an enormous painting, and magnificent in conception.[4]

21. Greater than any of these, I think, is Van Dyck's great "Crucifixion," commonly called "Christ with the Sponge," in the Church of S. Michael, Ghent. It has

[1] In the Church of S. Rombout, Malines.
[2] In the Church of Notre Dame at Dendermonde.
[3] In the Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.
[4] Compare *Van Dyck*, by Max Rooses, p. 29.

poetry, sympathy, tragedy, beauty, and strength in every line. Never was a composition more finely imagined or a Crucifixion more finely painted. The grouping is charming and the canvas is not too crowded. Every figure is beautifully conceived and nobly rendered. Not one figure would we wish removed, not one detail omitted. Never did Van Dyck paint so beautiful a Christ, and never a more beautiful Mother. These two figures alone are worthy a journey to Ghent, though every other figure on this noble canvas is magnificent. The Christ on the Cross is raised above the other figures, and stands out against a dark sky. The expression on His face is neither dramatic nor agonised. In the air, on His right, are the two lovely child-angels of the Antwerp "Crucifixion," giving a touch of poetry to the scene.[1] "The light," to quote Rooses' fine description, "striking the centre of the body and the white of the cloth around the loins, dies away as it rises to head and arms and descends to the feet. The Saviour is casting a look of love and tenderness upon His mother, forgetting for the moment His own suffering, and thinking but of hers. Mary Magdalene, clothed in amber colour, is kissing Christ's feet; with both arms she embraces the Cross, the light from above touching the folds of her garment. To the left we see the Virgin standing with extended arms, in an attitude of despair; the eyes that are raised to her Son are red with weeping. She is clad in a white tunic over which a light blue drapery descends in folds to the ground; over her head is thrown a dun-coloured veil. John stands near her,

[1] The Crucifixion with S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena. Compare also his "Kiss of Judas" and "Crowning with Thorns," in the Prado, Madrid.

his right hand placed upon her shoulder. To the right of the canvas we see two soldiers on horseback: the one dressed in armour, riding a white horse, is pointing to Jesus with his left hand; the other soldier, riding a brown horse, is bareheaded, in his hand he carries a yellow banner with a black eagle. To the extreme right of the canvas stands the executioner, his naked body partly draped in red. He is holding up a sponge on the point of his lance and is directing it toward the Christ upon the Cross." [1]

22. Greater even than this, in the opinion of many, is Van Dyck's solitary "Christ expiring on the Cross," now in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna.[2] In this picture, as in the Antwerp reproduction, Van Dyck touches the ideal. "His God Incarnate," as Rooses declares, "possesses a beauty of form not suggesting to our minds a martyr, but a human being with the same capacities for suffering as ourselves. The life and soul of the picture is concentrated in the face, which, although full of agony, does not produce upon us too great a shock." [3] The Christ alone is painted; the crowds have vanished; even the women and the executioners have gone. The loneliness is appalling. The suffering is real, the tragedy intense. And yet the spiritual note is clearly heard, the spiritual significance clearly seen. Forsaken by all but God, it may be by Him also, Christ is gazing heavenward with imploring, pathetic eyes. The blood is trickling down His nail-pierced hands and feet, but the tragedy is not of blood. Behind that pain-wracked face, beyond those melting eyes, the soul of this

[1] See Max Rooses' beautiful monograph, p. 36.
[2] Compare another in the Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp.
[3] *Van Dyck*, by Max Rooses, p. 35.

Man is bleeding, and one feels the awful humiliation of His death and the fearful problems that it raises. Never was sorrow like unto this sorrow. Never a soul burdened as this. Never a Crucifixion so deep with challenge. Its impressiveness is almost as great as that of the masterpiece of Velasquez, its sense of suffering quite as keen.[1] Its spiritual depth is greater than that of Rubens and its religious feeling finer than anything by that great master. A great pagan as well as a great painter, Rubens gives a most masterly study of the human form, while Van Dyck does not lose himself in such a study only. The facts of Divine sacrifice and spiritual agony are painted by him with almost overwhelming clearness, and the finely shaped body is made to pay its tribute to his thought and carry home the painter's sense of tragedy in the suffering of the Christ.[2]

23. Passing by the pupils of Rubens and Van Dyck, in Flanders, England, and France,—Snyders, Jordaens, Teniers, and many others,—we come to the Christ of the Dutchman's dream. The centre and glory of Dutch art is

[1] These two great single-figure "Crucifixions" should be compared and contrasted in detail.

[2] Compare *Van Dyck*, by Lionel Cust, plate viii., a beautiful reproduction in colour under the supervision of the Medici Society. See other Christ-pictures by Van Dyck as mentioned by Max Rooses in his monograph and by Dr. Bode in his *Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting*, pp. 308–309. Note, specially, a most beautiful "Mother and Child" in the Collection of the Duke of Westminster, Grosvenor House, London; "The Holy Family," in Munich, Vienna, and Paris; "Christ healing the Sick," in Buckingham Palace, a fine painting, though with little sentiment in it; and "Christ and the Little Children," once in the Marlborough Gallery; and "The Tribute Money," now in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa. Van Dyck's life at Charles's Court spoilt him in many ways. Fortunately, much of his religious work was done before then. His later work suffered at the hands of many assistants.

Rembrandt van Rijn.[1] No painter, except Rubens, can be compared with Rembrandt in creative power and productiveness. The latest criticism gives to him a place by himself in the history of the world's art. He comes nearer to our modern view than Raphael or Michael Angelo; he is equally admired and paid for as highly by collectors. He represents the highest expression of Dutch art and marks the close of a development which began with the Van Eycks. Rembrandt is a Dutchman to the core, and like all Dutchmen is a realist. Yet he is too great and too deep to be a realist only; the spirit within him that knew no bounds of national life called out for the ideal and gave to his hand cunning to paint the eternal.[2] Fromentin finds in his art a struggle between the two sides of his nature, and reckons him a great thinker "who apparently paints his times, his country, his friends, and himself, but in reality only paints a corner of the human soul, till then undiscovered." Rembrandt knew his Bible by heart, and no other artist has been so great an apostle of Christ and Christianity. Protestantism celebrated its greatest triumph in Rembrandt, and religious art found in him its last genuine interpreter and most inspiring force. "He has," says Dr. Bode, "in no way robbed Biblical representations of mystical charm; his peculiar way of introducing light gives them a supernatural appearance which constitutes

[1] A.D. 1606–1669. Before Rembrandt, Dutchmen like Gerard of Haarlem, Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), and others, painted Christ-pictures. See a "Pietà" by Gerard in Vienna, and a "Last Judgment," "Crucifixion," and "Adoration," by Lucas, in Leyden, Munich, and Buckingham Palace.

[2] The truth seems to be that the realist and idealist were ever at war in him. For many days the realist conquered. Then came a day when the light broke through the actual and he became a dreamer to whom the mystery of Christ made deep appeal.

the characteristic power and attraction of his art; but he treats his subject in the simplest and truest fashion with his whole soul and from the depth of his heart, and this is the secret of his immediate and powerful effect upon us."[1]

24. While this may be granted, it is also true that the Christ of Rembrandt is pre-eminently the product of his limitations. Dignified by suffering and exquisitely gentle, it has been complained that He has no mystic exaltation, no suggestion of uniqueness or lonely splendour. He is "a patient Dutchman," drawn with reverence and becoming grace, but in no way deified or robed in light. No halo is set about His head, no sign is written to declare His infinite glory. Yet rightly, surely, this is regarded as Rembrandt's great achievement, that he accepted the limitations of the human, and was content to paint a human Son of Man.[2] Says Koloff: "He translated the original text

[1] *Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting*, p. 10. Compare also Rembrandt's great series of etchings, *e.g.* his famous "Ecce Homo." "In this particular [seventeenth] century," writes Léonce Bénédite, "if you wish to find the true spirit of the Gospels, you will have to go to a little Protestant country where Rembrandt's genius of light and love burst out in all its radiance. And this time we meet with Him again, the Jesus of the Gospels, the Christ of the meek and the bairns, of the disowned and them that mourn; the Christ who delighted in the company of women and little children, who gave welcome to the beggars and vagabonds, and who died the death of humanity between thieves. And this Christ, born among the people and for the people, no class can claim as its own" (Introduction to *The Gospels in Art*, p. 25).

[2] "Rembrandt's art," writes Mr. Caffin, "is the antithesis of Greek art. The Greek is founded upon a hypothesis, upon the assumption of a possible perfection; Rembrandt's upon an acceptance of imperfection, upon the facts of life in relation to things as they exist." But "even as humanity gropes toward some divine reconciliation of the co-existence of evil with good, so art must find some means of spiritualising the facts of life and of idealising the homely and ugly. This pre-eminently was Rembrandt's gift" (see his *Story of Dutch Painting*, pp. 72–73).

of the Holy Scriptures into plain Dutch prose, and the wonders of the East became in his thought as well as in his pictures real local events and true histories."[1] "Plain Dutch prose" his Christ may be, yet beautiful prose such as no other man has written. "Real local events," the incidents of Christ's life, yet so reverently handled that they suggest the infinite and eternal. "True histories" are the works of this man of art, and so true to his thought of the real that they make a deep and true appeal to our hearts. Intense and dramatic, often idyllic and epic, yet real, Rembrandt succeeds, despite his limitations, in giving us a Christ who wins our love. Sometimes theatrical, and often lacking in physical beauty, at his best Rembrandt overleaps the actual and paints us the eternal with mystic, winning charm. Then his "plain Dutch prose" rises into sublime poetry and his "local events" are charged with divine significance. Says Prof. Baldwin Brown truly: "As Shakespeare unveils the depths of human experience, so Rembrandt every now and then confronts us with those eternal verities of which we used to hear so much from Thomas Carlyle."[2]

25. Taking only the Christ of manhood years,[3] we are impressed with Rembrandt's sense of dignity, simplicity,

[1] See Dr. Bode's *Great Masters*, p. 10. "Christ is now treated from the side of His poverty," writes the Rev. James Burns (*The Christ Face*, p. 192). Yet it must not be thought that Rembrandt "emptied Him of His divinity or was incapable of introducing into his conception of the face of Christ that sense of mystery which, in His supreme moments, surrounded His life. Perhaps no artist has been more successful in combining the human and the divine than Rembrandt" (*ibid.* pp. 193–194).

[2] *Rembrandt*, by Prof. G. Baldwin Brown, p. 276.

[3] Compare also Rembrandt's "Holy Families" and "Boy Christs," and his numerous religious works from "Judas Repentant" to "The Return of the Prodigal."

and reality. His marvellous painting of darkness and light may at first bewilder us, yet every picture calls for deep and patient study. "Rembrandt," says Koloff, "carries a dark lantern under his cloak which he suddenly produces and holds in our faces, so that at first we can see nothing for the blaze of light."[1] But let the eyes become accustomed to the ways of the magician, and it will be seen that Rembrandt's Christ is the product of "the most modern of all latter-day artists," and that he has "put the beauty of the spirit in the place of the antique beauty of form."[2] The figure, as Prof. Baldwin Brown says, is "not made up, or stuffed, or put to pose, but taken as it were from the life; the very man as His fellows saw Him as He moved among them, the teacher, the friend, the worker of beneficent wonders of healing."[3] The Christ of the theatrical Passion series at Munich and of the "Deposition" at St. Petersburg may seem to dispute this, but the fine "Flagellation" at Darmstadt and "Resurrection" at Brunswick and Buckingham Palace make it quite clear.

26. No picture illustrates it better, however, than the famous "Supper at Emmaus," now in the Louvre.[4] The Christ of this beautiful picture stands out clearly and strongly, a marvel of concentration, a typical example of Rembrandt's work. "The face and figure of Christ," says one, "are among the most wonderful in art, and in themselves are sufficient to vindicate Rembrandt's method in

[1] See Dr. Bode's *Great Masters*, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 17. Note also that Rembrandt is not a colourist like Titian or Giorgione, Rubens or Velasquez, but that he has marvellous power of blending light and luring dark and wonderful colour effects withal. Compare Dr. Bode, p. 23.

[3] *Rembrandt*, p. 282. This is true of his etchings as well as of his paintings.

[4] See our illustration.

the treatment of sacred themes."[1] The wealth and splendour of the Italian setting has gone, of Veronese and Carpaccio, Titian and the great Venetians, and a humble Dutch interior, with a poorly clad Christ, is painted for us. Yet we feel that Rembrandt has given us the right setting and painted "true history." There is no getting away from its simplicity and reality, and no getting past its dignity and power. It holds us by its truth and wins us by its homeliness. "Begin at home," cries Goethe, "and then, if you can, take in the world;" and this is precisely what Rembrandt has done. Beginning with this homely scene, he has suggested to us the eternal and taken the world by storm. Fromentin, an artist and brilliant writer, will carry most men with him when he writes: "This little picture of homely aspect, with nothing striking about it, dull in colour, and modestly, even tamely handled, would suffice to establish for ever the greatness of an artist. . . . We need only keep of this unique work the Christ alone, and it would be enough. What painter is there who has not made a Christ, at Rome or in Florence, Sienna, Milan, Venice, at Bâle, Bruges, Antwerp? From Leonardo, Raphael, and Titian, to Van Eyck, Holbein, Rubens, and Van Dyck, how have they not deified or humanised Him, shown Him transfigured or in the scenes of His mortal life, in His Passion or in His Death? In how many forms have they related the events of His history on earth or conceived the glories of His apotheosis? But has anyone ever yet imagined Him thus, as He sits facing us there and breaks the bread as He broke it on the night of the Last Supper, so pale and so thin, in His pilgrim's robe, with those darkened lips on which the Passion has left its

[1] Baldwin Brown's *Rembrandt*, p. 288.

traces; with the large soft brown eyes whose full gaze he has directed upwards, while a sort of cold phosphorescent light plays in a dim glory about His head—a living, breathing being, but yet one who has assuredly passed through the gates of death? The attitude of this divine visitant with that intense ardour in a face whose features are hardly to be discerned, and expression is all in the movement of the lips and in the eyes—these traits, inspired from what source one knows not, and produced one cannot tell how, are all of value inestimable. No other art has produced the like; no one before Rembrandt, no one after him, has made us understand these things."[1] The Christ of poverty wins. The Man of Nazareth becomes the Bread of God which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.[2]

[1] Fromentin's *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*, 6th ed., Paris, 1890, p. 380 f.

[2] Compare also Rembrandt's "Christ blessing the Children," and other works in the National Gallery, London, with the "Noli me Tangere," and other pictures at Buckingham Palace. The "Christ Blessing" is assigned to the school of Rembrandt. After Rembrandt there were many Dutch painters of genre and landscape, such as Nicolas Maes, Van der Meer of Delft, Pieter de Hooch, Jan Steen, Hobbema, Cuyp, Potter, Wouvermans, and others, but few who painted Christ. Young Card Players, Music Masters, Canal Boats, Windmills, Farm Yards, and House Interiors there are in abundance, but no great pictures of the Son of Man. "The world is too much with us." The Christ fades out of "paying" art, and Stables and Barber's Shops, Still Life and Wine-Drinking, claim the Dutchman's soul.

CHAPTER TEN

# THE CHRIST OF OTHER LANDS: GERMANY, FRANCE, ETC.

## SYNOPSIS

1. The work of Albert Dürer in Germany.
2. His greatness and shortcoming.
3. His Dresden "Christ on the Cross."
4. His "Adoration of the Trinity."
5. Holbein's traits and Passion series.
6. His wonderful "Dead Christ."
7. The "Risen Christ" at Hampton Court.
8. Lucas Cranach, the friend of Luther.
9. A painter of Reformed ideas.
10. Characteristics of French art.
11. Cousin, Poussin, Le Sueur.
12. Le Brun, Jouvenet, and Rigaud.
13. No great British Christ.

Christ Crowned with Thorns.

*Lucas Cranach.*

*Photograph by Hanfstaengl.*

Photograph by Hanfstaengl.

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Christ Crowned with Thorns.

Lucas Cranach.

# CHAPTER TEN THE CHRIST OF OTHER LANDS

NOT in Italy and Spain, Holland and Flanders only, did Christ receive the tribute of the men of art, but in every land to which the golden light travelled. In no other lands may the achievement be compared in beauty or splendour with the works already seen, but in Germany we have some creative work of great influence, and in every land tribute that is acceptable to Christ. Albert Dürer is a man of such vast creative force and great achievement that Lady Eastlake has rightly found a place for him in her *Five Great Painters.* Fit to be named in the same breath with Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Titian, and Raphael, his paintings and woodcuts have had a marvellous influence on the world's art. Germany may well be proud of him.[1] Titian and Tintoretto, Raphael and Bellini, turned to him for inspiration. His penetrating spirituality and his fidelity to truth took the heart of many a great painter and led him to go out in search of his kingdom. Yet it must be confessed that his work is now archaic, and makes little appeal to the modern mind. He wrought his good deed, and still speaks, but he cannot appeal like Rembrandt or Velasquez, like Titian or Tintoretto, to the heart of to-day.

2. Born in Nuremburg in 1471, nine years before Luther, the wind before the dawn whispered its message to his childhood's ears, and sent him in quest of new life and new hope in manhood's days. With Teutonic single-

[1] A.D. 1471–1528. Before Dürer, no great names in Germany call for our attention. In Germany itself, during his own lifetime, Dürer received little appreciation. What between this and an unhappy marriage, his life makes sad reading.

mindedness and strength of feeling, his art early became intensive and enabled him to crowd into a human face a world of deep expression. With hand and eye alike marvellous, and capable of the most minute work, every pebble and feather, every vein of every leaf, every wrinkle of every face, is reproduced with absolute truth. A great thinker as well as a great creative artist, a true admirer of Luther, Erasmus, and many another Reformer, Dürer travelled much and spread the new thoughts in many a woodcut and copperplate throughout the Germanic lands. Dürer's literary remains[1] sufficiently prove his mind to have been constantly exercised upon and around great thoughts, and their influence may be felt in the austerity and intensity of his noblest portraits and other creations. Yet Dürer was all too rarely wholly himself, and has not succeeded in expressing fully the content of his great soul. In painting, especially, this is true; he was at heart an engraver, and the graving-tool more than the brush expressed his thoughts; but his hand, with all its cunning, failed to carry the deepest thoughts of his life. "The abundant felicity in expression of Rembrandt or Shakespeare is altogether wanting. The imperial imposition of mood which M. Angelo affects is perhaps never quite certainly his, even in the *Melancholy*. Yet we feel that not only has he a capacity of the same order as these men, but that he is spiritually akin to them, despite his coldness, despite his ostentation."[2]

[1] *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, by Sir W. Martin Conway.

[2] *Albert Dürer*, by T. Sturge Moore, p. 202. "Paint," says Sir Martin Conway, "never grew to be his natural medium of expression" (see Introduction to Dr. Nüchter's *Albrecht Dürer*). He used paint as an engraver, building up the picture with astounding skill and infinite labour.

3. True admirer of Erasmus and Luther though he was, quite a number of Virgins and Child-Christs were produced by Dürer.[1] Among his early work, also, is the "Christ among the Doctors" now in the Barberini Palace, Rome. Another work, executed about the same time, in Venice, is the wonderful little "Christ on the Cross," now in the Royal Picture Gallery, Dresden. German and Italian feeling are blended in this exquisite work of art with the greatest success. "It may be doubted," says Mr. Lionel Cust, "whether any painting of the Italian or any other school can rival this little panel painting, only $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 6 inches broad, in intensity and nobility of expression, in truth and precision of drawing, and in charm and richness of colour."[2] Alone on the Cross the Saviour is painted, against a dark and sullen sky with a low sunset reflected in a deep-blue lake bounded by purple hills. It is evening, and the loneliness and anguish of the scene are faithfully expressed. This "Crucifixion" is the high-water mark of Dürer's painting, and is not without impressiveness and pathos, yet it leaves us comparatively unmoved. That it has sincerity and reverence, and that every spike of the crown of thorns is wonderfully painted cannot be doubted, but His suffering leaves us cold.[3] That the face and eyes appeal may be granted, but that the open mouth, floating loin-cloth, and stiff arms call for

[1] See his beautiful Dresden altarpiece; "Adoration" in the Uffizi; his Madonnas with the Iris and Finch; and Coronations of the Virgin, all of great interest. See, also, his Madonnas, Nativities, and "Flight into Egypt" in woodcut and copperplate.

[2] *The Paintings and Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, p. 58.

[3] See reproduction in colour, frontispiece of *Albert Dürer*, by Dr. Nüchter, translated by Lucy D. Williams. Compare, also, his Christ in the British Museum, "terrific in its realisation of the anguish of thirst endured by Christ on the Cross" (*Rex Regum*, pp. 81–82).

criticism must be granted also. One is impressed with the defects as much as with the merits of the painting, and is not able to get away from them. "In spite of the delicacy and all but tenderness which Dürer has for once attained to in the workmanship, one's satisfaction seems let and hindered."[1] Free from Teutonic hardness, and charming in many ways, Dürer's Christ fails to win us, though our hearts turn tenderly toward Him.

4. Grander in conception, and greater in many ways, is Dürer's masterpiece, "The Adoration of the Trinity," now in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna. This great painting shows Christ on His Cross, supported by His Father, worshipped by saints, the White Dove brooding over all. Attended by angels, praised by heaven and earth, this Christ has finished His work, and entered on His mighty triumph. The tribute of the painter's genius is rich as it is wonderful. "The painting is the simplest and most complete conception of Dürer's matured genius," says Mr. Cust. "It is one of the noblest pictures ever painted, and may be compared with the famous *Disputa* by Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura at the Vatican."[2] "Nothing," says Mr. Sturge Moore, "can surpass this last picture in elaboration and finish. . . . It invites comparison rather with the similar subjects painted by Fra Angelico than with the *Disputa* of Raphael; however, it possesses as little of Angelico's sweet blissfulness as the Dominican painter possessed of Dürer's accuracy of hand and searching intensity of visual realisation."[3] Dürer's angel-wings and drapery compare favourably with Angelico's work, and his figures are more accurate

[1] *Albert Dürer*, by T. Sturge Moore, p. 207.
[2] *Paintings and Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, p. 70.
[3] *Albert Dürer*, p. 211.

and convincing, yet one prefers the "virginal pearliness of Angelico's heaven" to the rosy splendour of Dürer's. The Christ-figure is conceived on the same lines as the Christ of the Dresden masterpiece, but the head is bent slightly to the right, the mouth is closed, and the drapery more freely drawn. The beautiful patriarchal Father calls for more admiration even than the Son, and the two together do not make their appeal in vain.[1]

5. Though by no means so great a man, Hans Holbein has been judged by some a greater artist than Dürer. Born in Augsburg in 1497, he early came to his kingdom, and was painting for profit when only fifteen. A Reformer and lover of liberty, he came to England in 1526, where much of his best work was done.[2] "As respects grandeur and depth of feeling," says Kugler, "and richness of his invention and conception in the field of ecclesiastical art, he stands below the great Nuremberg painter,"[3] yet he had a touch of poetry and idealistic love of beauty not affected by that great realist. Freer than Dürer from the spell of the Middle Ages, and Protestant in spirit, there is also something archaic about his work. It is, however, always reverent if not beautiful. The reverence with which he

[1] This is regarded by some as the greatest Christ of art, but the judgment may be doubted. A joyous picture and a kingly Christ Dürer has certainly painted, and worthy of much admiration and close study, but many will find their ideal elsewhere. Compare, also, Dürer's "Road to Calvary," grisaille panel in oils, in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook (Doughty House, Richmond), and the Dresden copy of same. See, also, Dürer's drawings, woodcuts, and engravings, especially his Little and Great Passion series, both wonderful in every way. A number of his drawings are in the British Museum. See them there, or reproduced in Mr. Sidney Colvin's *Drawings by Albert Dürer*.

[2] He died A.D. 1543, of plague, in London, and was buried, probably, in old S. Paul's. See *Holbein*, by Mrs. G. Fortescue, pp. 180–184.

[3] *German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, i. 198.

conceived the Mother and Infant Christ may be seen in his beautiful "Nativity," University Chapel, Frieberg Cathedral, and the famous Meyer-Madonna in Darmstadt and Dresden. The power with which his heart was drawn to the Christ-tragedy may be studied in the series of "Last Suppers" from his hand, and in the Passion series, at Basle. Both series have suffered greatly from mutilation and restoration. In the great Passion series there are eight panels forming an altarpiece, each picture a gem of dramatic painting. "Gethsemane," "The Kiss of Judas," "Christ before Pilate," "The Scourging," "Christ Mocked," "The Way to Calvary," "It is Finished," "The Entombment," all are painted with vivid realism and spiritual sympathy. In every case we have a Christ of flesh and blood, praying in an agony, enduring the kiss, standing quietly before Pilate and bravely at the Column, sinking under the mockery and ribaldry of the soldiers, but carrying His Cross with firm step, bowing His head in death and truly in the grip of the "last enemy" as they carry Him, limp and cold, to His tomb. In no case is the Christ beautiful, but in every scene there is graphic pictorial power and noble dignity. "It is a work," Sandrart maintains, "in which the utmost that our art is capable of may be found; yielding the palm to none, whether of Germany or Italy, and justly wearing the laurel-wreath among the works of former times."[1]

6. In Basle, also, is a "Dead Christ" by Holbein, a work of extraordinary technical skill and appalling realism, yet marvellous in every way and calling for close and

[1] *Holbein*, by Mrs. Fortescue, p. 76. See, also, the later Passion series in Indian ink, in Basle Museum, and the little diptych, also in Basle, with "The Man of Sorrows" and "Mater Dolorosa." Compare, also, Holbein's woodcut "Christ the True Light."

painful study. Of all the Dead Christs ever painted, this by Holbein the Reformer, the apostle of light and liberty, is most terrible. And yet it is painted with deep reverence. Some see in it only superb technique, the negation of all idealism, and the denial of all faith. But it is more. "Here He lies," to quote Mrs. Fortescue's fine description, "that surrendered Himself to the punishment of Sin and the penalty of Death—for all men and all time. His pale lips are set with the superhuman agony of the cry with which He paid the uttermost farthing of that bond. Man has died for man, martyrs for faith; here God has died unto Himself, for us. There has been no playing at death. All the pitiless terrors of the grave are here, with Him who for love of us has chosen to know Mortality 'like at all points' with mortal men. What He bore for us, shall we shrink from so much as realising? The great eyes are fixed in a look whose penetrating, almost liquid sweetness not even the rigour of the final anguish could obliterate. Divine devotion—devotion more than mortal—still lingers in those sockets. The heart may well dilate before this sight; the soul fall on its knees. By each of those blood-stained steps, by the sting of this death, we have been paid for. Here, here only,—as Holbein saw it,—is the leverage the heathen philosopher vainly sighed for to move the world; God's leverage, Infinite Love." Realism of the most ghastly truthfulness have we here, but realism with a great faith. Ghastly in its green sarcophagus, rigid and still, this is no mock death, no seeming swoon only; the marvel of the radiant hope casts no ray upon this mouldering Christ.[1]

[1] See Ford Madox Hueffer on this "Dead Man," in his *Holbein*, pp. 60–64, and compare Dr. Woltmann on Holbein's other pictures of Death, in his great *Life*, pp. 256–257.

Yet the measure of Holbein's success in death is but the foretaste of his joy in the Resurrection glory.

7. To turn from this "Dead Christ" to the "Risen Christ" of Holbein is to see the radiant hope again and taste the painter's joy.[1] There, every mark of death and every wound He bore is painted with unsparing truthfulness. Here, no stigmata are seen on hands or feet, no mark of the tomb upon Him. It is yet dark, but the dawn is sweeping across the sky. In the morning light we see the empty tomb with the angels sitting where He lay. In the distance are the empty crosses outlined against the dawn. In the distance, too, Peter and John with the awe of the empty tomb in their eyes. In the foreground Jesus and Mary Magdalene. The joy of the great discovery is on every line of Mary's figure, and the eager, impulsive rush of her love is beautifully rendered. This is one of the most beautiful Magdalenes ever painted, and one of the most telling evangels ever written in the form of a woman. "Poor Mary," says a woman who understands, "has stayed weeping by the empty grave, and 'turned herself back'—too frightened to stay for comfort. And then she has seen near her a Face, a Form, the unforgettable Voice has thrilled through her, and she has flung herself forward with the old, instinctive cry, 'Master,' to touch, to clasp that Hand, so dear, so familiar, so all-protecting, and find it a reality."[2] The face and form of the Christ are scarcely as finely drawn as Mary's, and certainly not nearly so beautiful, but they have tenderness and love, and the joy of life is written on every feature. He was

[1] In Hampton Court Gallery. Sometimes called "Noli me Tangere," and not recognised as Holbein's by some critics, Hueffer and others.

[2] Mrs. Fortescue, in her *Holbein*, pp. 81–82.

dead and is alive again. The poetry of the whole composition is charming.[1]

8. In Lucas Cranach, the friend of Luther and champion of Reformed thought, we have an artist lacking "the dark, weird mystery" which belongs to Dürer's work and the "subtle beauty of execution" characteristic of Holbein.[2] Born one year later than Dürer, he had great popularity in his day, but his fame has long been on the wane. Without Dürer's depth or Holbein's sense of beauty, he is often ludicrous when he would be exquisite and humorous when he would be grave. With a great fondness for religious subjects, his chief excellence, as Kugler declares, lies in purely realistic subjects, such as hunts of wild animals and portraits. Yet he has painted several Christ-pictures of some significance. They are all, or mostly all, painted to illustrate the Reformation doctrines, the insufficiency of good works and the sole efficacy of faith in the Saviour. Thus, in the central panel of his most important work, the altarpiece at Weimar, he represents Christ on the Cross, with three men on the right, Luther, Melancthon, and Cranach himself. The first, Melancthon, is pointing to the Crucified as the source of hope; the second, Cranach, is folding his hands in adoration; while the third, Luther, has his finger on the open Book and his eyes lifted toward the Cross. From Christ's side a stream of blood is flowing to the head of Cranach. The didactic purpose of the picture is all too evident, and is made plainer still by the

[1] See beautiful reproduction in photogravure in *Holbein's Pictures at Windsor, etc.*, by Ernest Law. The physiognomy of the Christ is the same as in the famous Passion series at Basle.

[2] A.D. 1472–1553. Compare *German, Flemish, and Dutch Painting*, by Wilmot Buxton, and *German and Flemish Masters in the National Gallery*, by M. H. Witt.

painting of the Lamb at the foot of the Cross and of another portrait of Christ Himself, spear in hand, His right foot on Death, His spear-point entering the mouth of a monster of hell. In the background is the ludicrous touch too often found in Cranach's work, a grotesque Devil driving the wicked into a gulf of fire.

9. Among other Christ-pictures by Cranach mention must be made of his "Christ receiving Little Children," "The Woman taken in Adultery," and a masterly "Thorn-crowned Christ." The heart of the man was childlike and tender, and his pictures of Christ and the children are considered specially successful.[1] The "Woman taken in Adultery" is a typical example of Cranach's work. The head of Christ is not without beauty, but the expression of the face is not pleasant, and the bold assertiveness of Christ's manner is not in tune with the thought of the ages. The "Woman" is a strange compound of indecorousness and grace. Never surely was a woman taken in adultery like this. The grotesque and exaggerated faces of the accusers are in Cranach's popular manner. They are all more or less repulsive.[2] His "Christ crowned with Thorns" is a more powerful and impressive Figure in every way.[3] The crown of thorns reveals the artist's incurable trick of exaggeration, but the face is beautiful, the eyes are melting, and the whole pose is full of grace. To look on this Christ is to know that Cranach loved Him, and to stand before it is to realise that He "died to make us good." The mouth of the thorn-crowned King is half

[1] One of the finest was in the collection of the late Thomas Baring, Esq., London. Cranach's "Christ blessing the Children" is now in the Northbrook Collection.

[2] This picture is in the Munich Gallery.

[3] In the Royal Gallery, Dresden.

open, as if He were calling us to fellowship in His sufferings. And His eyes follow us wherever we turn. With this Christ, Cranach takes his place by the side of the mighty, and with this masterpiece makes us all his debtors. The picture contains one singularly beautiful and tender touch—a group of child-angels gather round the head of Christ and lean forward their young faces to kiss Him.[1] Cranach's incurable exaggeration, however, enters even here.

10. In France we have none of the poetry or melancholy of the North, and none of the saintly rapture or enthusiasm of the South. The French mind, with all its quickness and grace, is not passionately devoted to religion, and is more concerned with the passing deeds of men than the speech of Heaven. French men of art reflect the character of the nation: they are quick to choose the best and swift to follow, but have no great creative power or soaring fancy. They "have the 'seeing eye,'" says one,[2] "but not the informing imagination." They are keenly alive to the form and pressure of contemporary thought and sensitive to every passing emotion, but the pressure of the Eternal does not lie heavy upon them and they do not stagger under the weight of the Cross. The world is too much with them. They reach a high standard of competence and have few idiosyncrasies, but they lack the personal note which gives distinction and the poetic quality which gives greatness.[3] Their intellectual keenness may tell them that absolute beauty is an abstraction, and their national force lead them to paint naked truth rather than beauty, but their greatest work sets one longing for the

[1] See our illustration.

[2] Gerard W. Smith, in *Spanish and French Painters*, p. 93.

[3] Compare W. C. Brownell's excellent work on *French Art*, p. 3.

inspirations that come from the heart and the glory that comes from following Him who is invisible. The vision of the Nazarene, the quest of the Holy Grail, the flight of fancy, the flapping of angels' wings, these things touch life with beauty and power and lead to eternal greatness, but as a rule the French men of art prefer to follow the rule of thumb. Hence we have no great Christ-painters in France fit to be named with the great Italians or Spanish or Dutch, and no fair Christ-pictures of world-fame. The light that "never was, on sea or land," the heaven that "lies about us in our infancy," are not in French art. The mysterious and incalculable, the inexpressible and unutterable, are not much in evidence, and no great men of art have been found willing to leave all and go out in search of the kingdom of Christ. In art as in life God hides His thoughts from "the wise and prudent" and reveals them unto "babes."[1]

11. Typical French work from the hand of Jean Cousin,[2] "the founder of the French School,"[3] "the Michael Angelo of France,"[4] may be seen in his "Last Judgment," now in the Louvre, and his "Descent from the Cross," at Mayence. The "Last Judgment" is a reflection of Michael Angelo's so far as muscle and force are concerned, but the Italian work is superior in every sense.[5]

[1] Compare W. C. Brownell's *French Art*, pp. 3–12. See the wonderful early Provençal "Pietà," now in the Louvre.

[2] A.D. 1501–1589, or before 1593. Before Cousin, René of Anjou (1408–1480) is about the only name that need be mentioned. He had the spirit of Fra Angelico without his power of expression.

[3] Smith, p. 104.

[4] *History of French Painting*, by Mrs. C. H. Stranahan, p. 14.

[5] See reproduction in *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, by L. Dimier, p. 180. Compare, also, Lerambert's "Last Supper" and Freminet's curious "Flagellation" and other pictures at Fontainebleau (*ibid.* pp. 280 and 282).

Nicholas Poussin, "the greatest painter whom France can claim,"[1] an artist whose purity of feeling and delicacy of drawing is always a delight, did not get near enough the heart of Christ to give us any great Christ-pictures. His "Last Supper," now in Bridgewater Gallery, represents his early manner, and his "Woman taken in Adultery" is typical of his last period. "His Virgins," says one, "have no virginity or tenderness, his Christ is only a hero; and sometimes his very excess of thought leads him astray, as when in the *Woman taken in Adultery* the expression of irony on the face of Christ robs it of all elevation."[2] Eustache Le Sueur, the "French Raphael," an artist unique in the life of France, has much religious fervour and deep spiritual feeling. Yet not even Le Sueur, with his sweetness and gentleness, his purity and vision, was able to paint a Christ that should be the glory of France. Unlike the genuine Raphael, he had no radiant vision, and no "unfinished" Christ that waited for a dream—as his three Christs in the Louvre make plain.[3]

12. Charles Le Brun, the friend of Richelieu and Mazarin, painted a "Christ with the Angels" for the queen-mother, and worked hard through all his long life.[4] His Louvre picture, "Christ on the Cross," is typical of his noble and dignified style, and also of his affectations. Bourdon painted frequently the "Flight into Egypt," and gave a rendering of the "Descent from the Cross" that has won some praise.[5] Louis de Boulogne[6] gave to Notre Dame "Christ and the Centurion" and "Christ and the

[1] Gerard W. Smith, p. 115. Poussin, A.D. 1594–1665.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 122. See his "S. Paul caught up to Heaven," illustrated in Brownell's *French Art*, p. 8, and his "Holy Family" in Vienna.

[3] A.D. 1617–1655. Died too young.

[4] A.D. 1619–1690. [5] A.D. 1616–1671. [6] A.D. 1654–1733.

Woman of Samaria," while in the Louvre may be seen Philippe de Champagne's "Last Supper" and "Les Religieuses," works representative of the graver side of an age that produced Pascal.[1] Claude Lorraine never left the fields of nature and never withdrew to "a solitary place" to paint the Rose of Sharon and the Morning Star.[2] Jean Jouvenet is dramatic and original, as may be seen from his masterpiece in the Louvre, "The Descent from the Cross," and this is true, also, of the "Raising of Lazarus" and "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," in the Church of S. Martin-des-Champs.[3] Hyacinthe Rigaud won his spurs with a "Crucifixion," but, for all his happiness and love, he did not follow his gleam.[4]

13. In our own little storied isle painting did not become an instrument of national expression till the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Till then Van Dyck, Rubens, and a host of smaller men were honoured by successive kings and commissioned to decorate our castles and churches.[5] Not till Hogarth and his brilliant followers came did we break from the foreign yoke and attempt a style that may be reckoned British, but even then we look in vain for any great religious art. Hogarth[6] was a great moralist, and effectively caricatured the morals of his vicious age; but Religion was decadent as well as morals in the eighteenth century, and the only two sacred

[1] Philippe, A.D. 1602–1674. See his "Presentation," in Brussels.

[2] A.D. 1600–1682.

[3] A.D. 1644–1717. See, also, his Notre Dame picture, "Christ healing the Paralytic," and his "Money-Changers" and "Feast at House of Pharisee" in Church of S. Martin.

[4] A.D. 1659–1743.

[5] See Ernest Chesneau's *English School of Painting*, with Preface by John Ruskin, pp. 3–4, and Muther's *History*, vol. i. chap. i.

[6] A.D. 1697–1764.

subjects Hogarth attempted, "The Good Samaritan" and "Pool of Bethesda," on the walls of S. Bartholomew's, cannot be pronounced masterly. The great men who followed contributed much to native art, and painted many beautiful portraits and charming pictures, but no portraits of the great strong Son of Man. The nearest Reynolds came to anything sacred is his "Angels' Heads" and "Age of Innocence."[1] Gainsborough and Romney painted pretty women, and enriched the land with many a lovely vision, but their hands were not drawn to paint the beauty of Christ. Raeburn in Scotland, and Lawrence in England later, painted pictures that now fetch their weight in gold, but they also had no tribute to lay at the feet of their Lord. And with Lawrence came decadence in English art, mediocrity and lack of seriousness, a deep dark night that had no spiritual dawn till the wind of the pre-Raphaelite's morning woke in the sky.[2]

[1] A.D. 1723–1792. Reynolds painted, also, a "Holy Family" (National Gallery), but it is somewhat commonplace.

[2] See on all this Ernest Chesneau's *English School of Painting*, Sir William Armstrong's *Art in Great Britain and Ireland*, and Allan Cunningham's *Great English Painters*. We have nothing from the great genre artists, Wilkie and Leslie, or the great landscape painters, Turner and Constable. Etty's ambition was to become a great moral painter, and he attempted religious subjects, but he is most effective when not moral and quite simple. Blake had poetic fire and Swedenborgian fancy, but the wonder and spell of the Unseen Christ did not fall on that great visionary soul.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

# THE CHRIST OF MODERN ART. EUROPEAN

## SYNOPSIS

1. Nineteenth-century art.
2. The Germanic Nazarenes.
3. Overbeck's religious ideals.
4. His mediæval pictures and catholic faith.
5. Fails to hold the modern eye.
6. Führich, Steinle, Veit, and Cornelius.
7. Hofmann's sentimental conventional Christ.
8. Boecklin and Max Klinger.
9. Fritz von Uhde's return to reality.
10. His Christ in a modern setting.
11. His most successful pictures.
12. Ottilie Roederstein's beautiful Christ.
13. Munkácsy's religious realism.
14. Ary Scheffer's gentle Christ.
15. Delaroche, Decamps, and Gérôme.
16. Bouguereau, Bonnat, and Jalabert.
17. The Christ of Lhermitte and Girardet.

**Jesus with the Peasants.**

*Von Uhde,*

*Photograph by Levy et Ses Fils*

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Photographed by Leon & Son, Ltd.

Tears with the Deceased.

No Title.

The Christ of the Reed.

*Ary Scheffer.*

*Photograph by Neurdein.*

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The Christ of the Reed.

Ary Scheffer.

Photograph by Neurdein.

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# CHAPTER ELEVEN THE CHRIST OF MODERN ART

THE nineteenth century beheld a great awakening in the life of the world. Not only in science, but in music and painting, it was destined to greatness. The French Revolution was the beginning of a new era in the art as well as in the life of the world. And what specially characterised the art of the nineteenth century is, as Léonce Bénédite remarks, that more and more it became the reflection of social life in its different forms, that it knew how to grasp its tendencies and its desires, and to serve as a faithful mirror of the outer as well as of the inner life of those times.[1] It witnessed an effort to lead men back to the great masters before Raphael, but it continued and ended as a reflection of the new life of the world, glorying in the dress and mode of to-day. And its most noteworthy religious pictures are certainly those which paint Christ in a modern setting, Christ going in and out among the peasants and the fishermen, and Christ drawing the hearts of the children and the toilers to Himself.

2. When Albert Dürer passed to the green lands beyond, Germanic art fell asleep and had no awakening till the early part of the wonderful nineteenth century. Then a new artistic inspiration stirred the sleeping dark, and the "Nazarenes" woke to give the world the benefit of their transient art. In their work a mystic religious spirit is evident, and an exaltation of the dreams and methods of the Middle Ages. In no way great in achievement or vision, this Germanic revival is important as the first gleam of light falling on our modern world after the

[1] *Great Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, i.

dark of the eighteenth century, and as the prelude to many another artistic movement far beyond the Teuton's sway. In the opinion of these revivalists, to quote Léonce Bénédite, the Middle Ages were the ideal time; they dreamt of a union of Church and Art; they paid attention only to the masters before Raphael, for the decadence of art had begun with Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, and Michael Angelo.[1] Hence a crisis of much the same nature as produced in David's studio the "primitives" and in Holman Hunt's workshop the English Pre-Raphaelites. The Teutonic movement began with the conversion to Catholicism of the poet Schlegel and a whole group of German artists, of whom Overbeck and Cornelius were the most prominent. They left Germany for Rome, and led quite a monastic life in the deserted Convent of San Isidoro, religious contemplation and artistic imitation filling the years. There can be little doubt of their loyalty to their Church or of their devotion to a great artistic ideal, the consecration of Art to Christ and the Church, but the net result, so far at least as their own work is concerned, is little short of "lamentable imitations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." [2]

3. Johana Friedrich Overbeck, the chief of this German School, came to Rome in 1810, and died there in 1869.[3] Ingenuous, fresh, and sincere, Overbeck sought to overturn the Reformation with his brush and the Renaissance with paint. "Oh, I was so full of it," he writes, "my whole fancy was possessed by Madonnas and Christs; I bore

[1] *Great Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 319.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 319.

[3] Pre-Raphaelite in spirit, Overbeck and his followers were called "Nazarenes" in Germany, ironically at first, but afterwards not without some honour.

these impressions about with me, I cherished them, but nowhere could I find response."[1] Tormented with shortcoming and failure, he gave himself to religious art as a neophyte gives himself to God. Turning from Homer and the classic style, he opened his Bible and found Christ, and went in pursuit of Him all the days of his life. It is impossible to withhold admiration from Overbeck, and one could fain wish that his achievement in art had been more in keeping with his Christ-dream.[2] Impressed with Him, cherishing Him, nowhere could he find response, and nowhere paint a vision of the Nazarene that would draw the world to His feet.

4. One of Overbeck's earliest efforts was "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem," painted for the Marien Kirche at Lübeck.[3] This was followed by "Christ blessing the Little Children," "Christ healing the Sick," "The Raising of Lazarus," "The Feeding of the Hungry," "The Call of S. James and S. John," "Christ's Agony in the Garden," "Entombment," "Resurrection," and many others, in fresco and oil. They reveal the trend of the artist's thought and preach the faith of his heart in sombre colours. Like Fra

[1] *Overbeck*, by J. B. Atkinson, p. 18.

[2] His father's "creed for a purist painter" influenced Overbeck much: "The artist's and poet's mind should be as a spotless mirror; his heart must be pure and pious, at one with God and all mankind. The path to the holy Temple of Art lies apart from the world, and the painter will go on his way all the more unassailed if he stand aloof from the temptation of the senses. And if the artist's mind be a temple, then should find place therein only the figures of saints and the semblances of holy things; and even in profane representations a heavenly spirit should reign. The mind is raised by the contemplation of the masterworks of genius. Thus Art reaches the highest summit" (*ibid.* 8).

[3] Overbeck was born at Lübeck in 1789, the year of the French Revolution, and finished his famous picture in 1816, the year after Waterloo.

Angelico, Overbeck held the faith, believed it surely, and painted his pictures to the glory of Christ and to lead others to behold His greatness. Christ is a King, and we must needs strew our garments before Him when He enters our hearts. He is kind and gentle, and holds up His hands to bless the little children; and the bairns know it and flock to Him; and mothers look on with love in their eyes. Not the children only, but the sick and halt and blind know His love, the tender touch of His hand and the stoop of His compassion; and a new joy enters the world through the healing Christ. Hungry men turn to Him too, and find in Him satisfaction of the hunger and thirst of life, of body and soul. Christ is a wonder, His presence a miracle, and it is not hard for Overbeck to believe that His triumphal progress is barred by no gates, not even the gate of Death. He raises Lazarus: the miracle is not to be wondered at; it is surely to be believed; and it should lead men to fall at His feet. Truly dead and truly buried, Christ leaps triumphant from the tomb, His flag unfurled, His day yet to be. And as He called James and John, so He calls us also, one and all, to leave our "fishing nets" and come after Him.

5. Again and again, Overbeck preaches his gospel in paint, repeating the pictures he loved best, coming back to them with glowing faith and glowing life, and honouring Christ with hand and heart. Yet, because of the mediæval form in which his gospel is painted, he fails to hold the modern eye, and because of the sacrifice of colour to creed he fails to charm the world of to-day. His Christ is strong and beautiful and tender, but He is lacking in distinction and compelling power. He is painted with prayer and fasting, and after long waiting and watching for Heaven's

inspiration, but the painting is not great enough or deep enough to win our love. It has sincerity without charm, and faith without power. Its piety moves our admiration and its devotion our praise, but it does not grip us and hold us for ever slaves at the Master's feet. With "beating heart and holy awe" Overbeck gave himself to his task, but our hearts do not beat as we stand before his work or our feet pass with "holy awe" to the business of the King.[1]

6. Other Nazarenes who must be named are Führich, Steinle, Veit, and Cornelius. Führich[2] has a fine feeling for the Bible stories, and has rendered with humanity Christ's parable of the Prodigal Son, but has painted no portrait of the Christ Himself that calls for our attention. Steinle has been called "a Madonna painter of our time." He has romantic aspiration as well as piety, and a certain "yearning after colour." He painted an original and striking "Crucifixion." The symbolism and suggestion of the words "I have trodden the winepress alone: and of the people there was none with Me" are woven into the framework of the scene with marvellous skill. The Cross is a winepress. A vine grows up its framework and along its cross-beam. Bunches of grapes are in Christ's hands, and a holy chalice catches the blood from His nail-pierced feet. At the foot of the Cross are bare rocks; beyond, a field of ripening grain, and clouds in an angry sky. It is

[1] For further information on Overbeck and the other Nazarenes see Muther's *History of Modern Painting*, i. 117 ff., and Lübke's *History of Art*, ii. 463 ff. Compare their work with the Eclectics of Bologna rather than with the Pre-Raphaelites of England. Consider Muther's dictum: "Religion no more bestows talents for the arts than it gives taste."

[2] A.D. 1800–1876.

one of the most original and striking "Crucifixions" in the history of art.[1] Veit's "Maries at The Tomb" shows the same fine feeling for sorrow, while his delight in the world and his love of beautiful landscape mark the breaking of the bonds that bound him to the perils of the Nazarenes. A further departure from the eclecticism of Overbeck is evident in the work of Cornelius.[2] Though at one time a leading Nazarene and chief even of the community at Rome, his virile brain led him past the work of the early Renaissance to the masters of the sixteenth century. Returning to Munich, he painted in the Ludwigs Kirche there a series of frescoes representing the "History of Man from the Creation to the Last Judgment." His style is monumental, his figures statue-like, and his drawing splendid, but his work is a laboured imitation of Michael Angelo.[3] His Christ-figure oppresses us with its dramatic pose and its sense of unreality. "Ah," writes Goethe, in one of his letters, "how true it is that nothing is remarkable but what is natural; nothing grand but what is natural; nothing beautiful but what is natural."[4]

7. Of all German painters, the Christ of Heinrich Hofmann has been favoured with widest popularity. Reproduced in photogravure in every land, he has won world-wide fame. Sentimental and conventional though

[1] See reproduction in Muther, i. 132. His "Raising of Jairus' Daughter" is poor beside this.

[2] A.D. 1783–1867.

[3] See Muther, i. 147.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 148. See, also, the work of Cornelius in the Pinakothek, Munich, and Friedhofshalle, Berlin. With the Dusseldorfers and others, he rejected Leonardo's advice to "tug at the nipple of Mother Nature" and treated her merely as an old aunt. Despised Nature took her revenge, and men now ridicule his much-praised achievements.

the work of Hofmann be, it is refined and reverent, and appeals to the crowd who love the story told in graphic, pious form. His best known pictures are "Christ and the rich young Ruler," "Christ and the Fishermen," "Christ in Gethsemane," and "The Saviour." The same type of face appears in all his pictures, and the same quiet, reverent appeal is made wherever He appears. The rich young ruler as he turns from the great sacrifice is finely drawn, and there is vigour and insight in the strong, rugged faces of the fishermen, and in both cases the Christ is a pleasing and reverent, if conventional Figure. In the Christ of Gethsemane there is dramatic pose and ambitious painting, but one is struck with a feeling of unreality. Hofmann had not depth or passion enough for dramatic work, and is most successful in his quiet, conventional style.[1]

8. Without looking at the classical work of Fuerbach,[2] or the Madonnas of Max the Colourist, we come to the new religious painting represented by such men as Arnold Boecklin, Max Klinger, and Fritz von Uhde. Breaking from the thraldom of the Nazarenes and the coldness of the Classicists, Boecklin took to nature and painted it as if it were a living creature. Every flower, bush, and flame, wind, waves, and meadows, seem to whisper to his soul, and the result is beautiful work, fit to be compared with the great poet-painter Dürer's. In his "Walk to Emmaus"

[1] If there be no originality and no deep thought in Hofmann's Christ, it must be owned there is something quietly pleasing. He is never offensive, emaciated, worn, revolting, but comfortably clad and nobly presented. To plain, matter-of-fact, conventional people, there can be no doubt this Christ gives much satisfaction. See our illustration of his "Come Unto Me."

[2] His "Pietà."

we have a lovely grey evening landscape. All Nature is trembling in shivering apprehension. A Divine Presence is journeying with us. Our hearts go out to Him, and we stand before the picture crying, "Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent."[1] Max Klinger began with a series of pen-sketches of Christ, and steeped his later days in the mysteries of Christianity and the sufferings of Christ. He painted in his "Crucifixion," the martyred Galilean who offered up Himself for men; in his "Pietà," the still hour when Mary and John gazed in sorrow on the Dead Christ; and in his "Christ on Olympus," the dramatic moment when the two worlds, the pagan and Christian, met and clashed. The old gods are still alive, and are painted in all their nude, entrancing beauty, in the midst of their Olympic joy. Suddenly there appears among them the Nazarene, followed by the Cardinal Virtues. Clad in a long, flowing robe, flowers break into bloom where His feet have trod, and pale Psyche sinks before Him, grasping at His hand. It is a fine tribute, though Klinger is somewhat lacking in great painting power.[2]

9. Fritz von Uhde[3] took up a new phase of religious painting and devoted himself to it with the zeal of a modern apostle. The realistic school were priding themselves that art had broken with religion when Uhde rode forth into the unknown land to paint the pictures that have won him fame. "All Biblical pieces," wrote Goethe, "have been robbed of their truth and simplicity, and spoilt for

[1] Boecklin died in 1901. Compare, also, his "Penitent" in the Schack Gallery. He is a Romanticist and Idealist in one. In many ways he is really great, and the pity is that he painted so few pictures of the Son of Man.

[2] Subsequently, he turned sculptor. Born in Leipzig A.D. 1856.

[3] Born in Saxony A.D. 1848, died in Munich 1911.

sympathetic minds by frigid exaltation and austere ecclesiasticism. By stately mantles falling into folds an effort is made to conceal the empty dignity of the supernatural persons." It was the high calling of Fritz von Uhde to give reality to the Gospel story once again, and to paint Christ in such homely modern guise that the wonder of His life came home once more to the hearts of men. Giving a modern and popular setting to the Christ-stories, he showed the Son of Man living His life among the folk of to-day. He has His stately, flowing robe, and looks as if He had come back to us again, and were speaking to us and loving us as He spoke and loved of old. The method is somewhat revolutionary, and was indeed the subject of much criticism when Uhde's first picture appeared, but there can be no doubt that it has brought reality to life again and invested religious painting with new interest and power.[1]

10. In keeping with modern interest in child-life, as well as with our modern cry "Back to Christ," Fritz von Uhde chose for his first subject "Suffer the Little Children to come unto Me." He pictures a schoolroom with Dutch children, in everyday modern dress, and Christ sitting among them, in the middle of the room. A pale, pathetic Figure, He is of absorbing interest. Loving the little children, He draws them as of old, and wins them with His charm. Awkwardly but naturally they gather round Him, drawn by His sweet winsomeness and grace, while

[1] "Art can have no higher mission," says one, "and we have reached the summit of religious painting when, through the simple expression of common, everyday human emotion, we conceive the divine essence — that apotheosis which lifts the soul into dumb and joyous assent with all good things" (J. L. French, *Christ in Sacred Art*, p. 134).

one little child takes His hand and looks up to Him as if sure it had found a new Friend. The picture is as natural as one could wish, and as pleasing as it is beautiful. The Christ lives again in a poor little Dutch schoolroom. Equally fine is Uhde's "Jesus with the Peasants,"[1] also in the Luxembourg. It pictures a poor cottage interior with a couple of men and women and children standing round a frugal table. Christ's hand is raised to bless; He is praying the Father to bless the humble fare. The influence of His Presence is beautifully and reverently painted, every figure being worthy of careful study and every face showing the refining, hallowing force of His gracious company. Solemn and wondering, they bend their heads as He prays, or fold their hands in awe. One little child looks up at Him, her head bent, her hands folded, her eyes half afraid yet full of listening wonder. The whole picture is so reverently painted and the whole scene so naturally rendered that one feels that this poor peasant in his white smock and this poor woman in her skirt and blouse, and these little awestruck children, are in the Sacred Presence. Christ has come to life again, stands at our frugal boards, and lifts His hand to bless. Homely and simple peasant-folk have found a Friend again, and the Son of Man is in the setting that He loved. It is not hard to believe that the Christ Unseen has been to the Luxembourg, and smiled, with joy, to see Himself painted once again as the Hope of toiling men and the Friend of little children.

11. The same power is seen in "The Sermon on the Mount," "The Last Supper," "Christ and the Magdalene,"

[1] Sometimes called "Come, Lord Jesus, be our Guest."

"Christmas Night," and other pictures by Uhde.[1] The Christ of "The Sermon on the Mount" speaks to a group of poor labouring men, women, and children of to-day, and speaks with moving power. The varied attitudes and expressions of wonder, humility, reverence, and love on the faces of the crowd are beautifully painted. Equally masterly is the power with which the painter has rendered the furrowed, weather-beaten faces of the Apostles in "The Last Supper." They are simple fishermen and working men, such as the Gospels describe them; and every man among them feels the wonder and spell of Christ. To stand before this picture is to know the power of the Son of Man over the hearts of men. To look on these simple fishermen is to find one's own soul, and take one's place at this Holy Table. There is thought and depth of feeling on every face. Rich in spiritual observation and deep in the expression of human emotion, these pictures are full of charm to me, and are as convincing as they are natural. To some they may be strange, to me they speak as if the Christ were here again. With deep sincerity and delicate understanding, Fritz von Uhde has done his work. His Christ—that quiet Being laying His hand so softly on us and moving with such spiritual calm—is the impersonation of benevolence, the embodiment of brotherly love. "In his creations," says Muther well, "is the poetic joy in the ever-enduring sentiment of devout legends interwoven with true artistic pleasure in faithfully representing life as it is around us, and, if any inference from the past be permissible in reference to the future, later generations will view Uhde's pictures

[1] See our illustration of "Magdalene." Compare his "Christ preaching by the Lake," illustrated in Dr. J. R. Miller's *Bethlehem to Olivet.*

with as little prejudice as we do the works of the old masters."[1]

12. Fit to be compared with Uhde's is the beautiful work of Fraulein Ottilie Roederstein. Here, too, we have a Christ with modern setting, as in her charming "Suffer the Little Children to come unto Me."[2] Among modern pictures this has peculiar charm. So simply and finely is the spirit of the scene caught by the painter, and so happily and beautifully rendered, that one stands before this masterpiece and feels that Fraulein Roederstein has given us a winning Christ and has added to the joy of life. To look on Him with His simple, human, childlike love is to feel a smile rising in the heart and spreading over the face. With three little children in a room, poorly clad but nobly human, this Christ takes our heart as He certainly takes

[1] *History of Modern Painting*, iv. 360. Uhde has had his followers, though not any of them has his simple grace and convincing power—Skresdig the Swede, Jean Béraud the Parisian, Sigismund Goetze the Londoner, and others. Other sacred painters in Germany have avoided the naturalistic tendency, and have relied on poetic presentations of their themes for effect. Such is Wilhelm Durr's "Madonna," with its evening shades and dreamy silence. Such, also, is the "Madonna" of Wilhelm Volz, produced the year following (1889). Gebhardt went back to the fifteenth-century costume and told the Gospel stories in an old German setting, see *e.g.* his "Last Supper" and "Ascension." Menzel, Zimmermann, Liebermann, and other Realists give us a modern Jewish setting, with far from pleasing effects. See, also, Stuck's brutal "Crucifixion," and his cold, classical "Pietà"; Bruno Piglhein's poetic "Crucifixion" (1879), with its floating angel receiving Christ's spirit from His lips in a kiss, and his panoramic "Crucifixion" (1888), with which he opened a new chapter in panoramic painting. See, also, Arthur Kampf's "Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem"; Ernest von Liphart's "Ascension"; Anton Dietrich's "Come unto Me"; J. V. Kramer's "Descent from the Cross."

[2] See, also, the beautiful rendering of this by Juliaan de Vriendt, illustrated in *Modern Masters*, by Dr. Kuyper, p. 54. Fraulein Roederstein was born in 1859 in Zürich, and is still living.

the heart of these bairns. His left arm is round one little lass, who looks, with folded hands, into His face. His right hand clasps the tiny fingers of a little mite who stands at His knee and looks up at Him with a smile. Pensive and thoughtful, the third child stands by, and beholds the Christ. This is our Big Brother, our Friend, Love made flesh and dwelling among us, and we gather round His knee, like little children, and—just love Him. Excellent work is being done by Juliaan de Vriendt and Albert Edelfelt.[1] Born in 1862, at Helsingfors, in Finland, Edelfelt has a lovely painting of the Infant days, entitled "The Wise Men from the East." It is an "Adoration" of great charm. He has painted, also, a beautiful rendering of "Christ washing the Feet of His Disciples," a thoughtful bit of work well done.[2] This should be compared with the famous picture by our great British painter, Ford Madox Brown. De Vriendt has given us a lovely rendering of Ottilie Roederstein's theme "Suffer the Little Children to come unto Me." The dress is not modern and the types are in no way original, but it is a very pleasing rendering of the subject. This Christ is so beautiful and gentle that we would fain stand as little children at His knee. A tender and realistic "Burial of Jesus" comes from his brush also, a marvellous bit of painting, full of deep and powerful emotion. Few stronger and more satisfying renderings of this terribly fascinating theme have ever been painted, and none, probably, more true to life.[3]

[1] De Vriendt was born in 1842 and is still living. Edelfelt died in 1905.

[2] Both of these are illustrated in Dr. Kuyper's *Modern Masters*.

[3] Illustrated in Dr. Kuyper's charming book, pp. 54 and 64. See, also, De Vriendt's beautiful but rather too dramatic picture, "The First Meeting with the Risen Saviour" (*ibid.* 66).

13. Interesting in himself, and as the man at whose feet Fritz von Uhde received his inspiration in modern religious realism, is the far-famed Hungarian Baron Munkácsy.[1] Of humble parents, he won fame and fortune with his dramatic religious pictures, and died a rich man, but bereft of reason. In 1881 his dramatic "Christ before Pilate" took the world by storm, and in 1884 his "Christ on Calvary" repeated its marvellous success. Carried round the world and exhibited in almost every city in Hungary, Germany, Britain, America, these pictures created an immense furore and were viewed by excited crowds in every land.[2] That the crowds stood spellbound before them and that deep religious feeling was awakened by them cannot be questioned, though the critics rightly pronounce them theatrical and turn from them to the quieter work of the masters with joy. "If one," says Muther, "were to think of any one of those figures from the populace which surround the Saviour in Rembrandt's etchings, any one of those figures who have no premeditated aim, who are just there, though they take part in the action with all their might and main, and do not in the least concern themselves about the spectator—if one were to think of such a figure beside the noisy, shrieking figurants so well trained to fill their place in these pictures, all the ostentatious creations of this period would sink into nothing; and beside Rembrandt's natural and unforced composition the same fate would befall the adroitly designed arrangement by which these painters seek to conceal the hollowness of their work—this of Mun-

[1] Born at Munkacs, in Hungary, 1844, and died at Endenich, near Bonn, 1900.

[2] "Christ on Calvary" was bought by America for 120,000 dollars.

kácsy and other spectacular painters."[1] Yet Léonce Bénédite is right when he calls attention to the fact that Munkácsy's "two great religious pictures owe their powerful interest to strong realistic qualities" and that their truthful, familiar accent and vigorous technique contrast favourably with many of the academic productions of his time.[2] However dramatic many of the figures of Munkácsy's pictures be, these very figures provide an effective and suggestive background for the White Christ who stands silent and erect before Pilate. A commanding Figure is He, and as kingly, noble, and arresting as any modern Christ.[3] Mrs. Jenner regards the Christ of Munkácsy's "Ecce Homo" as the representation of the Christian ideal in its modern setting. He is revealed "not as the Divine Man, nor as the Son of God of the earlier artists, nor as the aristocrat of the conventionalists, nor the benign Redeemer and Brother of Chartres," but as the "suffering, down-trodden, labouring democratic Workingman of to-day, with the fierce light born of starvation and ceaseless toil in his fanatical eyes and hollowed, emaciated face." This is, in her opinion, "the only new rendering of Christ that modern needs have produced, with the possible exception of the weary Pessimist of Burne-Jones."[4]

[1] *History of Modern Painting*, iv. 352.

[2] *Great Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 344.

[3] Compare with Munkácsy's "Christ on Calvary," Stuck the German's brutal "Crucifixion" and cold, classical "Pietà."

[4] *Christ in Art*, p. 173. "Munkácsy's Christ is Christ seen under the fierce pressure of modern commercialism, where the weak are pushed to the wall by the strong, in the race for wealth. Men fashion God as they need Him. It may be that Munkácsy's goaded Workman Christ has a message to grime-laden souls; while the divine benignity of the Christ of the great Italian painters and French sculptors is too beautiful for smoke-dimmed eyes to see" (*ibid.* p. 174). Holland is still charmed with Dutch interiors, and has no Christ-pictures to show, though the

14. Modern painting in France is the outcome of the work of Chardin, Greuze, and David, in their eighteenth-century revolt against the immoralities of Boucher.[1] Though none of these men painted Christ, and David altogether refused to undertake Christian subjects, the sincerity and grace of their work prepared the way for the modern revival in Christ-pictures.[2] The school of David gave place to the Romanticists, Delacroix and others, and these in turn made way for Ary Scheffer, Delaroche, and their modern following. It was in Ary Scheffer's third period, when he had broken from Romanticism and come to feel the throb of the pain of life, he painted the sacred pictures that have won him fame.[3] Of these the best are "Christus

work of Israels, Anton Mauve, and others, is often deeply human. In Denmark, Marstrand is painting some religious pictures, as in his "Doubting Thomas." But the Christ-face is weak. Russian art is capable of strong realistic work, a good example of which is Nikolaus Gay's "Christ in Gethsemane," a marvellous bit of intense painting that should be compared with the sentimental performance of Hofmann. Gay died in 1894. We could wish he had given us more work of this strong, impressive order. Spain has forgotten Him. Italy, too, is asleep. But compare the work of Domenico Morelli, at first a follower of Overbeck and the Nazarenes, though later an Oriental realist. His numerous Christ-pictures are impressive in colour and spirit, and are worthy of much praise. Compare his "Prodigal Son" and "Jesus before Herod," and Ciseri's striking "Ecce Homo." See, also, "The Purification of the Temple," by Paolo Michetti. Compare, on Russian heads of Christ, J. B. Atkinson's *Art Tour in Northern Capitals*, pp. 292–295. Jef Lempoels, a Flemish artist, has a pious over-pretty "Jesus as a Boy."

[1] See *French Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, by Lady Dilke.

[2] Compare, however, Chardin's charming "Blessing" and Greuze's "Father explaining the Bible," "Village Bridegroom," and "Curse." David was born in 1748, and died in 1825. Corot painted a "Flight into Egypt" and "Baptism of Christ." Millet and Rousseau did little to demand our attention. Prud'hon had a "Christ on the Cross," Ingres a "Christ and Peter," and Delacroix a really striking "Crucifixion" and "Jesus on Lake Gennesaret."

[3] It was not, of course, the fault of Romanticism; he was really a sentimentalist at heart.

"Come unto Me."
*Hofmann.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.*

14. Modern painting in France is the outcome of the work of Chardin, Greuze, and David, in their eighteenth-century revolt against the immoralities of Boucher.[1] Though none of these men painted Christ, and David altogether refused to undertake Christian subjects, the sincerity and grace of their work prepared the way for the modern revival in Christ-pictures.[2] The school of David gave place to the Romanticists, Delacroix and others, and these in turn made way for Ary Scheffer, Delaroche, and their modern following. It was in Ary Scheffer's third period, when he had broken from Romanticism and come to feel the throb of the pain of life, he painted the sacred pictures that have won him fame.[3] Of these the best are "Christus

work of Israels, Anton Mauve, and others, is often deeply human. In Denmark, Marstrand is painting some religious pictures, as in his "Doubting Thomas." But the Christ-face is weak. Russian art is capable of strong realistic work, a good example of which is Nikolaus Gay's "Christ in Gethsemane," a marvellous bit of intense painting that should be compared with the sentimental performance of Hofmann. Gay died in 1894. We could wish he had given us more work of this strong, impressive order. Spain has forgotten Him. Italy, too, is asleep. But compare the work of Domenico Morelli, at first a follower of Overbeck and the Nazarenes, though later an Oriental realist. His numerous Christ-pictures are impressive in colour and spirit, and are worthy of much praise. Compare his "Prodigal Son" and "Jesus before Herod," and Ciseri's striking "Ecce Homo." See, also, "The Purification of the Temple," by Paolo Michetti. Compare, on Russian heads of Christ, J. B. Atkinson's *Art Tour in Northern Capitals*, pp. 292–295. Jef Lempoels, a Flemish artist, has a pious over-pretty "Jesus as a Boy."

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"Come unto Me."

*Hofmann.*

*Photograph by Anderson, Rome.* *Page* 295.

"Come unto Me."

Hofmann.

Photograph by Anderson, Rome.

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Christ and the Magdalene.

*Von Uhde.*

*Photograph by Daheim Expedition.*

Photograph by Durand Exhibition.

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Christ and the Magdalene.

Von Uhde.

The Light of the World.

*Holman Hunt.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

The Light of the World.

Holman Hunt.

Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

Consolator," "Christus Remunerator," companion-pictures in the same style, "Christ weeping over Jerusalem," "Christ Tempted," and the "Christ of the Reed." The work of Scheffer reveals a tender and truly mystical soul, and his conception of Christ is very tender and pitiful. Though he is drawn little to paint the supreme might of Jesus, and does not attempt to give it full expression, he succeeds in bringing us into touch with a "Word made flesh" and moves our heart with Christ's pity and compassion. The grouping of the "Christus Consolator" may be artificial, and the painting too much a presentation of ideas, but one cannot look on the sorrowful company gathered round Christ's feet without feeling that Ary Scheffer knew something of the consolations of Jesus. The same tribute is paid by the painter in his "Christ weeping over Jerusalem"; here again, the compassion of Christ is rendered sympathetically and with power. That Scheffer knew the spiritual strength of Christ also, and was able to paint a Conqueror, is plain from his "Temptation," where, on the mountain-top, Christ appears before us strong and confident, and able easily to confound the purpose of a fine Miltonic Satan.[1] That Scheffer's heart, however, inclined to the sentimental presentation of the Christ, and loved His gentleness more than His might, is clear from his beautiful "Ecce Homo," in which Christ with a reed stands before us, a noble picture of divine resignation and wistful longing.[2]

15. Though it was not till late in life, when broken in health and love, and impelled by grief to seek the succour

[1] It must be admitted, however, that the Christ-face is not strong.

[2] See our illustration. Other Christ-pictures by Ary Scheffer are "Christ and the Children," "Christ carrying the Cross," and "Christ Buried." He was of German-Dutch nationality, though French in art. Born A.D. 1797, died 1858.

of religion, that Paul Delaroche painted sacred pictures, he has left us several of much pathos and power. In "The Virgin and Disciples during the Passion" and "The Virgin in Contemplation," both finished in the last year of his life, we have earnest dramatic work, and in his "Entombment" we read the depth of his sorrow for his buried spouse as well as for the Christ. His "Crown of Thorns" and "Mother of Our Lord" also show grief and tenderness springing deep from the artist's troubled life.[1] Decamps,[2] the Orientalist, painted many sacred subjects, among them a "Christ in the Prætorium." J. L. Gérôme,[3] another Orientalist and a painter of much influence in modern France, consecrated his brush to many an incident in the life of Christ, as in his "Entry into Jerusalem" and "Golgotha," but his interest is in the scenery more than in the Christ, and we look to him in vain for one great painting of the Man who walked the holy streets and trod the Syrian vales. Though Jean François Millet[4] has given us many beautiful works in rustic genre, with sowers and shepherds in plenty, of great humanity, religious feeling, and true poetry, I do not know of any picture by him of the Great Sower or the Good Shepherd.[5] This is true also of many modern masters whose works have won great

[1] A.D. 1797–1856. Compare also his famous "Night of the Crucifixion," "Return of the Mother of Jesus from Golgotha," with his "Christian Martyr," a beautiful dead woman floating in water, "Execution of Lady Jane Grey," and "Last Communion of Mary Stuart."

[2] A.D. 1803–1860.

[3] A.D. 1824–1903. See his striking "Raising of Jairus' Daughter," illustrated in *Modern Masters*, by Dr. Kuyper, p. 57, and his still more striking rendering of "The Resurrection" (*ibid.* 65).

[4] A.D. 1814–1875.

[5] See his original "Flight into Egypt," and his crayon sketch of "Jesus at the Column."

fame, and one could wish the holy gleam had come to not a few of them. Then, with their wonderful brushwork and marvellous technique, they might have given us a Vision of Christ of exquisite loveliness and charm.

16. Distinguished above others, in that they made the effort, the following eminent Frenchmen must be named. Bouguereau,[1] pre-eminently the painter of flesh and leader of modern academic painting in France, early achieved success by his lovely Virgins and his presentation of the Childhood. One can stand before his "Virgin Consoling," [2] "Adoration of the Shepherds," "Adoration of the Magi," and "Holy Women at the Tomb," and be drawn to the heart of the great story; but he gets deeper still when he paints for us "Christ and His Mother on the Way to Calvary," and "The Dead Christ on His Mother's Knee," now in the Collection of Prince Demidoff. The Christ carrying His Cross in the way of sorrow is a noble bit of painting, though the Mother and Magdalene are somewhat melodramatic. Léon Bonnat, that fine aged man of art,[3] first won fame with his religious work, his "Good Samaritan," now at Bayonne, reaping great success. Dagnan-Bouveret [4] has given us two charming pictures of the Mother and Child, both characterised by much sweetness and originality, and a lovely Boy Christ,[5] but nothing great, so far, of the manhood years except his huge and famous "Last Supper." The interest, too, is in the beautiful Mother

[1] A.D. 1825–1905. [2] In the Luxembourg.

[3] Born 1834. Bonnat's "Crucifixion," in the Jury Chamber of the Palais de Justice, Paris, is virile but scarce pleasing. See illustration of his head of Christ in *Rex Regum*, plate 39.

[4] Born A.D. 1852.

[5] Illustrated in Dr. J. R. Miller's *Bethlehem to Olivet*. See also his fine "Consecrated Bread," in the Luxembourg.

rather than in the Child; and while there is much beauty in the face of "Our Lady" there is not much depth or spiritual exaltation. Jalabert[1] has a striking picture of "Christ walking on the Sea," where the spirit of the incident is well portrayed, and the fear of the disciples finely suggested. His "Christ in Gethsemane" shows Him surrounded by the blessed three, a fine erect Figure, calmly waiting the coming of the crowd to take Him. The scene, again, is finely painted, and the spirit of the incident well caught. Equally good is his "Burial of Our Lord," which in its light and shade, its grouping and dramatic power, is worthy of much praise.[2] Hébert's much-criticised "Kiss of Judas" must be mentioned. It marks an innovation in the traditional treatment, but it is powerfully conceived and painted. The light of a lantern shows up the face of Christ at the moment that Judas is attempting to kiss Him. Christ's face reveals His loathing and disdain, but is free from anger, and suggests the calmness and serenity of His soul even in His dark betrayal hour. The picture is well worthy of its place in the Luxembourg.[3]

17. In keeping with the marked tendency of modern art to picture the story in the garb of to-day, Léon Augustin Lhermitte[4] has painted a strikingly original and impressive work entitled "Blessed are the Poor." Christ is seated at a poor man's table, and is represented blessing and breaking the bread as He hands it to the toilers. His face

[1] A.D. 1819–1901.

[2] See also his "Annunciation" and "Suffer the Little Children to come unto Me."

[3] Compare, also in the Luxembourg, the appalling "Dead Christ," lying on a linen cloth, by Alphonse Legros, and the beautiful "Descent from the Cross" by H. Lazerges.

[4] Born A.D. 1844.

is sympathetically painted, and the poor men at the table are well done. Altogether this is a most suggestive and original contribution to the subject. In contrast is Eugène Girardet's fine treatment, in the garb of olden times, of "The Way to Emmaus" and "The Supper at Emmaus." In both pictures the Christ-figure is well painted. Clothed in white, He talks to the disciples on the way till their hearts burn within them, then vanishes from sight at the moment of His great revelation in the breaking and blessing of the bread. Both scenes are well conceived, and the vanishing Christ is finely drawn.[1] Specially fine and worthy of notice is a lovely little water-colour, "The Lord's Supper," by that charming artist, Gaston la Touche. It was exhibited with the Royal Scottish Academy's Collection in 1913, and proved one of the most satisfying pictures in the rooms. Though quite modern in treatment, it has much of the fascination of Rembrandt's "Supper at Emmaus." The spirit of the scene is well caught, and the Christ is painted with reverence and charm.[2] While we have work like this[3] there is no need to despair, and much to make us hope that, when France is touched by the bleeding Hand, she

[1] Tissot, after painting Parisian women and London notables with incomparable charm, spent four years of the later period of his life in Palestine, painting scenes from the life of Christ with some success. The result, 350 water-colours, may be seen in his *Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, two huge volumes. See also Doré's *Picture Bible*.

[2] The picture belongs to Mr. Martin White of Balruddery. The artist died during its exhibition in 1913.

[3] See, on all these, *A History of French Painting*, by Mrs. C. H. Stranahan; *Modern French Masters*, edited by John C. Van Dyke; *French Art*, by W. C. Brownell; and *A Handbook of Modern French Painting*, by D. Cady Eaton. Reproductions of many pictures named will be found in *The Gospels in Art*, edited by W. Shaw Sparrow. Compare also Muther's *History of Modern Painting*, and *Great Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, by Léonce Bénédite, keeper of the Luxembourg.

will wake to give us pictures of surpassing beauty of the great strong Son of Man.[1]

[1] Consider also the following, "Christ healing the Sick" and "Christ's Mission to the Apostles," by Joseph Aubert; "Christ and the Children," by Paul Chenavard; "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem," by Edouard Debufe; "The Annunciation," by Alfred Bramtot (a fine original conception); "The Shepherds at the Inn," by H. Lerolle; "Flight into Egypt," by Cazin and by Girardet; Eugène Burnand's finely realistic "Disciples running to the Tomb" and "Parable of the Great Supper"; Théodore Ribot's "Good Samaritan"; Gustave Moreau's "Apparition"; the idealistic work of Puvis de Chavannes, *e.g.* his "Scourging of Jesus"; "Jesus among the Rabbis," by Benjamin Constant (a very beautiful rendering), and his "Jesus stilling the Storm"; Beraud's startling "Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee," a modern Parisian supper, with an up-to-date, stylishly dressed penitent as Magdalene; Luc Olivier Merson's "Repose in Egypt"; Paul Hippolyte Flandrin's "Christ weeping over Jerusalem"; V. Leduc's "Temptation in the Desert"; H. Lazerge's "Crucifixion (Stabat Mater)"; and Hugues Merle's "Mother and Child," in the late Pierpont Morgan's Collection. The numerous and huge Christ-pictures of Gustave Doré (1833–83) drew the crowd for years in London and other cities throughout the world. Their drawing was weak and their handling defective, but there can be no doubt that their exaggerated and melodramatic effects made strong appeal to a great religious public.

CHAPTER TWELVE

# THE CHRIST OF BRITISH ART

## SYNOPSIS

1. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.
2. Ford Madox Brown's "Christ Washing."
3. His "Entombment of Jesus Christ."
4. Holman Hunt's "Light of the World."
5. What does it mean?
6. His "Shadow of Death."
7. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's idealism.
8. His "portrait" of Christ.
9. Sir John Everett Millais' Boy Christ.
10. Sir Edward Burne-Jones' art.
11. His beautiful "Easter Morn."
12. And charming "Dies Domini."
13. George Frederick Watts.
14. The lesser lights of England.
15. David Scott's religious pictures.
16. Sir Joseph Noël Paton.
17. Robert Scott Lauder's "Crucifixion."
18. William Hole's "If thou hadst known."
19. Tendencies of to-day.
20. What of to-morrow?

# CHAPTER TWELVE THE CHRIST OF BRITISH ART

WHEN the great British portrait-painters finished their journey, art suffered much in Britain from pitiful imitation and from the foreign yoke. Eastlake painted pictures of the Christ, with something like Venetian splendour, but without depth or sense of reality.[1] William Dyce, a brave Scot in London, championed the cause of the Nazarenes, and beat them in force, colour, and grace, but failed to paint any satisfying portrait of the Great Nazarene.[2] The land was sick of unreality and weary of imitation, when a whirlwind of new life swept through the desert and ushered in a new day. This was the new life of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the new day of religious realism in England. Ford Madox Brown may be called the father of the movement, and Holman Hunt, Rossetti, and Millais the brothers who gave it reality and force. Though in form it may appear to find its inspiration in the thought of the Nazarenes, in truth it differed much from the German Pre-Raphaelite movement. It was not Catholic, and it was not a religious crusade: it was rather an artistic and poetic revolt against the emptiness and unreality of classical beauty and passionless forms. It went in quest of nature and life with the lamps of precision and reality in its hand. From the first the brothers

[1] See his "Christ blessing Little Children," in Manchester Gallery, and his "Christ lamenting over Jerusalem."

[2] A.D. 1806–1864. Compare his touching Madonnas, his "Christ in Gethsemane," and "Woman of Samaria." He felt the charm of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in London, but continued to be most powerfully influenced by the past. He became a devotee of the High Church movement in England. See his decorations on the east wall of All Saints', Margaret Street, London. They are good and well worth seeing.

steeped themselves in poetry and deep thought, and had the clean sweet vision of Truth in their hearts. Holman Hunt loved Keats and the Bible, Rossetti gave his soul to Dante, and Millais to the mediæval songs of chivalry; and one and all went in quest of his kingdom as the knights of Arthur sought the Holy Grail. Transcendental naturalists though they be, they blended realism with deep thought, uncompromising truth to nature with philosophic and poetic ideas, and gladdened the world with many a fair and startling picture of Christ and His mother.[1]

2. Ford Madox Brown travelled much in early life, and brought back from his travels a passionate zest for truth. Breaking from the artificial lights and forms of the hackneyed host, he aimed at truth no matter how displeasing or revolting. Nothing is sacrificed to pose, graceful show, or histrionic affectation. "He makes no attempt to dilute what is ugly, and to the angular frankness of the primitive masters he unites the profound learning of the modern historian."[2] All this may be seen in his marvellous "Christ washing Peter's Feet," now in the Tate Gallery, and in his poetic "Entombment of Jesus Christ."[3] The first shows Christ in the act of washing His impulsive disciple's feet. Every figure in the picture is full of thought and is a revelation of human character.

[1] See Muther's *History of Modern Painting*, iii. 1–10, and John Ruskin's defence, *Pre-Raphaelitism*. The vagaries and mannerisms of the school and their tendency to over-elaboration make their works unpopular with many. See Chesneau's criticisms in *English School of Painting*, pp. 179–238. He slaughters Ruskin.

[2] A.D. 1821–1893. See Muther, iii. 20.

[3] The "Entombment" he painted twice, in 1867 and 1869. In the first the name of each figure is given in the halo. The second is the finer work, and it is to this we refer. The first is in water-colour, the second in oil.

"The very simple traditional costume of Jesus and His disciples," says Madox Brown, describing his own picture, "as also the traditional youthfulness of S. John, curly grey hair of Peter, and red hair of Judas, I have retained—combined with such truth of surroundings and accessories as I thought most conducive to *general truth*, always intending, however, in this picture the documentary and historic to be subordinate to the supernatural and Christianic —wherefore I have retained the nimbus."[1] The nimbus is round the head of Christ only. The portraits are almost entirely drawn from the P.R.B. circle. The head of Christ is a literal transcript of that of F. G. Stephens. Of the apostles, omitting Judas, the first on the left is W. M. Rossetti; the second, Holman Hunt; the fourth, Holman Hunt's father; the fifth, C. B. Cayley; the sixth, D. G. Rossetti; and the seventh, S. John, is thought to be Christina Rossetti. Whether the artist has been successful in subordinating the documentary and historic to the supernatural and Christianic may be doubted, but there can be no question as to the speaking power of the picture. To put a nimbus round the head of Christ is not to make Him supernatural, but to show Him on bended knee washing the feet of that mystified, venerating apostle is to teach the Christianic lesson of humility as powerfully as paint can speak. The picture is successful, too, in revealing the varying thoughts of the apostolic group as they watch the Christ at His self-imposed task. "Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an

[1] *Life of Ford Madox Brown*, by Ford M. Hueffer, p. 81.

example, that ye should do as I have done to you." The subject is one that commended itself to the painter, and it is certain that no more powerful revelation of the glory of work and the grace of humility has been given to the world of to-day. The painter kept touching and re-touching it, ill satisfied with his effort; but there can be little doubt that it will mellow with the years and speak to many a generation yet to come.[1]

3. The "Entombment," painted later in life, is worthy of close and reverent study.[2] It is a composition of great power and reality. Each figure here has a nimbus, except two most suggestive outsiders—of whom more later. The Dead Christ is drawn with fine reserve, and has none of the revolting detail of many such pictures. On His head is the crown of thorns, but His bleeding feet and sides are hidden from our view, and even the horror of the nail-pierced hands is veiled. The Figure is clothed, and Peter and John between them bear Him to His tomb. Mary Magdalene kneels at the entrance, with dishevelled hair and empty hands, a beautiful, pathetic figure. Beside John is the Mother, weeping, and by her side that other Mary and Joseph of Arimathea. The details of the background are most impressive. Away in the distance, against a broken sky, three empty crosses. Nearer, a flock of sheep feeding, all unaware that the Lamb of God had been led to the slaughter. And nearer still, just behind the sad procession, but not of it, a woman and a little child. The woman with her hand directs the head of the child to the tragic scene; but the unconcerned, wondering child fails to

[1] See our illustration, and Hueffer's *Life*, p. 413.

[2] Compare with it the beautiful "Entombment" of Juliaan de Vriendt.

understand.[1] The picture is masterly in colour and harmony, and is at once mystical, realistic, and poetic, full of deep thought and right feeling. The painter received little honour in his life, but did good work, and went to sleep with the consciousness that one day he would come to his kingdom.

> "He has outsoared the shadow of our night;
> Envy, and calumny, and hate, and pain,
> And that unrest which men miscall delight,
> Can touch him not, and torture not again."

4. If Madox Brown be the "father" of the movement, William Holman Hunt was its most faithful and devoted champion.[2] While others faltered or fell away, he continued steadfast to the last. Distinguished by depth of thought and microscopic fidelity to nature, his pictures are the expression of the principles dear to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. "In the whole history of art," says Muther, "there are no religious pictures in which uncompromising naturalism has made so remarkable an alliance with a pietistic depth of ideas."[3] In Ruskin's phrase, Jesus and the New Testament became to Hunt "what it was to an old Puritan or an old Catholic of true blood—the only Reality." Illustration of this may be found in his two popular Christ-pictures, "The Light of the World" and "The Shadow of Death." With the first, he won fame

[1] "Madox Brown himself," says Hueffer, "had, throughout his life, very much of the 'little child' in his composition. His attitude towards life was as sincere, as naïve, as direct, and not infrequently as embarrassingly penetrating, as any child's. In addition to this, he had his dramatic power and his almost Titanic virility. His work was never suave, never *quite* complete; but it was vigorous and honest to the end" (*Life*, p. 422).

[2] Born in London A.D. 1827, died 1910.

[3] *History of Modern Painting*, iii. 12.

and established his unique place in English art.[1] To begin with, however, the picture was exposed to much contemptuous criticism from men like Thomas Carlyle and papers like the *Times* and *Athenæum*, and it was not till Ruskin took up his pen on its behalf that Hunt saw his way to his throne. The picture shows Christ standing outside a fast-closed door. The door is overgrown with creeping tendrils of ivy, while the fruits of the earth lie at Christ's feet. The latch is within, and the weeds, brambles, nettles, and fruitless corn show that it is long since the door has been opened. With His right hand Christ knocks at the door, and the picture, according to Hunt himself, is intended to illustrate the words, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." It is twilight, and the patient Figure stands knocking, knocking. A lantern in His left hand casts its light on the knocking Christ and the fast-closed door. He is clad in a white garment, over which is thrown a gold-embroidered crimson cloak, while His brow is crowned with a golden thorn-spiked crown. Behind Him is an orchard laden with fruit and rich with subtle suggestions.

5. What does it all mean? "My types," says Holman Hunt, "were of natural figures such as language had originally employed to express transcendental ideas, and they were used by me with no confidence that they would interest any other mind than my own. The closed door

[1] First exhibited in 1854, it was presented to Keble College, Oxford, in 1872. Later, in 1904, he repainted the subject. This replica was presented to S. Paul's Cathedral, London, after a tour round the Colonies. See our illustration. The original was painted by moonlight with extraordinary patience and care. Chesneau compares it to a picture by W. H. Fish "pervaded by very much the same spirit." This is called "The Last Evening," and pictures the last evening of Jesus Christ at Nazareth (*English School*, p. 185).

was the obstinately shut mind, the weeds the cumber of daily neglect, the accumulated hindrances of sloth; the orchard, the garden of delectable fruit for the dainty feast of the soul. The music of the still small voice was the summons to the sluggard to awaken and become a zealous labourer under the Divine Master; the bat flitting about only in darkness was a natural type of ignorance; the kingly and priestly dress of Christ, the sign of His reign over the body and the soul to them who could give their allegiance to Him and acknowledge God's over-rule. In making it a night scene, lit mainly by the lantern carried by Christ, I had followed metaphorical explanation in the Psalms, 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path,' with also the accordant allusions by S. Paul to the sleeping soul, 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand.'"[1] Or, as he puts it more briefly, "My desire was to show how the still small voice speaks to a human soul in the turmoil of life."[2] Or, more generally, "the meaning," says Muther, "is Christianity illuminating the universe with the mystic light of Faith and seeking admission at the long-closed door of unbelief."[3] John Ruskin's glowing exposition of the picture follows the painter's own description, and concludes by saying: "I believe there are very few persons on whom the picture, thus justly understood, will not produce a deep impression. For my own part, I think it one of the noblest works of sacred art ever produced in this or any other age."[4] He expands on its "exquisite mystery of colour" and truthful-

[1] See his *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, i. 350–351.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 347.

[3] *History of Modern Painting*, iii. 12.

[4] *Works*, xii. 330.

ness of detail. The picture is certainly one of great power and makes a strong evangelic appeal. Every detail presses home the "sermon" of this painter-preacher, and it may be confidently believed that the picture will continue long to preach to the crowd. Its weakest feature, perhaps, is the face of Christ Himself.

6. With Holman Hunt's second Christ-picture, "The Shadow of Death," or "The Shadow of the Cross," Ruskin was far from pleased. He regarded it as "wrong in conception" and full of "faults," all originating from the artist's "great mistake" in going away from England to Syria for five years.[1] To paint this picture, we are told, Hunt "searched the East until he discovered a Jew who corresponded to his idea of Christ, and painted him, a strong, powerful man, the genuine son of a carpenter, with that astounding truth to nature with which Hubert van Eyck painted his Adam."[2] The picture shows the interior of a carpenter's shop, realistically painted, with bench, saw, wood, shavings, and other details. It is sunset, and as the tired Workman stretches Himself, the shadow of a cross is cast upon the wall. Near His feet is His mother, kneeling by a chest in which various Oriental articles appear, notably a crown spiked with thorns. With her hand on the lid of the chest, she beholds the shadow of the cross; and it is clear that a sword has pierced her heart. A picture of the East as it may be seen to-day, "The Shadow of Death" is lifted by a subtle touch of poetry into the realm of the sublime, and makes a strong human appeal to the modern man. Its artistic power may not be nearly so great or its beauty half so rare as "The Light of the World," but its sentimental touch and speaking symbolism make it a

[1] *Works*, xxx. 308. [2] Muther, iii. 15.

Christ Washing Peter's Feet.

*Ford Madox Brown.*

*Photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.*

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Photograph by M. A. Manuel & Co.

Christ Washing Peter's Feet.

Ford Madox Brown.

The Christ of "Mary Magdalene."

*D. G. Rossetti.*

*Photograph by F. Hollyer.* *Page 322.*

The Christ of "Mary Magdalene."

D. G. Rossetti.

Photograph by F. Hollyer.

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Dies Domini.

*Burne-Jones.*

*Photograph by Miss Caswall Smith.* *Page* 326.

Dies Domini.

Burne-Jones.

Photograph by Miss Caswall Smith.

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picture capable of saying many things to the weary hearts of many men and women to-day.[1]

7. If Madox Brown be the "father" of the movement and Holman Hunt its most consistent champion, Dante Gabriel Rossetti must be acclaimed its most brilliant and fascinating member.[2] "His art," says Bénédite, "is a strange mixture, ardently and passionately lyrical, impetuous and restrained, through which passes a feverish breath of mysticism and Southern symbolism, brightened by a subtle, thoroughly British grace. His enthusiastic dilettantism, which encompassed all modes of thought and all forms of art, united with poignant, voluptuous eloquence the warmth of a Giorgione and a Titian and the linear exaggerations of a Lippi and a Botticelli."[3] "The yearning after far-off worlds of beauty was combined with a demand for new delights of colour," says Muther.[4] Pre-Raphaelitism, however, did not long hold Rossetti, and, under his influence another art-movement entered upon an entirely different course. He became the centre of a new circle of artists, who directed the current of what was originally naturalism into mysticism and refined archaism. Although a member of the earlier brotherhood, his dreamy and mystical spirit soon carried him into the realms of the new idealism, and it was in the service of the new idealism most of his life was spent.[5] Of his religious pictures, only one contains a portrait of the manhood years, the rest being concerned with the Girl and Mother rather than with the Christ. His first picture, "The Girl-

[1] This picture was first exhibited in 1873. Other pictures by Holman Hunt are "The Triumph of the Innocents" and "The Finding of Jesus in the Temple," or "Christ with the Rabbis."

[2] Born in London A.D. 1828, died 1882.

[3] *Great Painters of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 224–225.

[4] *History of Modern Painting*, iii. 150, 152, 154.

[5] Compare Holman Hunt's letter to *The Times*, May 28, 1910.

hood of the Virgin," is angular and archaic, but has austere simplicity and spiritual grace.[1] It was followed[2] by his charming "Ecce Ancilla Domini," now in the Tate Gallery, "a harmony of white upon white of indescribable graciousness and delicacy."[3] This popular rendering of the Annunciation "in the spirit of the Florentine primitives"[4] has won great praise. Equally original, and stronger and more complex, is his "Nativity," a typical bit of Rossetti painting in his new idealistic style.

8. It is in his subtle picture "Mary Magdalene at the House of Simon the Pharisee" that we have the portrait of Christ for which Rossetti is famed. The incident is one that moved the heart of Rossetti deeply, and the picture contains in Mary Magdalene that type of sad and passionate womanhood with which the painter has made us familiar.[5] It represents the Magdalene when the spell of Christ has fallen on her, turning from a life of shame and sorrow to the purity and joy she knows to be in Christ.[6] Her lover and a woman have followed her, and are laughingly trying to turn her back. In one of his most beautiful sonnets Rossetti gives her answer, as she tears herself from their power—

> "O loose me! Seest thou not my Bridegroom's face
> That draws me to Him? for His feet my kiss,
> My hair, my tears, He craves to-day: and oh!
> What words can tell what other day and place
> Shall see me clasp those blood-stained feet of His?
> He needs me, calls me, loves me: let me go!"[7]

[1] First exhibited 1849. The Virgin was his own sister Christina.

[2] In 1850. Compare with it Arthur Hacker's beautiful "Annunciation," in the National Gallery, London.

[3] Muther, iii. 153. [4] Bénédite, p. 225.

[5] It is a portrait of the beautiful Miss Siddal, who became his wife, and it first appears in this picture.

[6] Compare with this Beraud's startling picture of a modern Parisian "Magdalene," dressed in white splendours of fine muslin, *chic*, at Parisian supper. See *Rex Regum*, p. 134.

[7] *Works*, edited by W. M. Rossetti, 1911, p. 214.

The picture is concerned with the surrender of the Magdalene to the love of Christ. The banquet is not depicted, but within, seen through a gable-window, Rossetti has painted the head of Christ for which he is famous. It is in the corner of the picture, and looks like a brilliant afterthought. Beautifully it shows the deep compassion and tender yearning with which Christ turns to the Magdalene and wins her heart for ever. The whole picture is full of subtle power and charm, and is a noble rendering of the drawing power of Christ. Concentrate attention on the portrait of Christ, or take it out of the picture altogether, and you will feel that Rossetti's heart understood the pity of Jesus.[1]

9. Another member of the famous trio who formed the P.R.B. was Sir John E. Millais.[2] To him, however, Pre-Raphaelitism was only a flirtation. His methods of thought were too concrete, his hand too powerful, for him to tarry long in the fields of Pre-Raphaelite precision. Later, the naturalism of Velasquez claimed him, and he became England's greatest modern portrait-painter. Of his early religious pictures, the best known is his "Child Jesus in the Workshop of Joseph." It is in the manner of Holman Hunt's "Shadow of Death," and may have suggested that work. It shows the Boy Christ standing in the carpenter's shop, His left hand pierced with a nail. Joseph lifts the wounded hand to look at the wound. Mary, kneeling, kisses her Child and seeks to comfort Him with her love. John

[1] See our illustration. The face of this Christ was studied from that of Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Drawn in pen and ink 1858. Painted in oils and in water-colour 1865. Head painted alone 1859. See also the fine frescoes in the Church of Ascension, Bayswater Road, London, by Frederick Shields, a friend of Rossetti. He died in 1911, but not before he made the church beautiful with many a picture of Christ.

[2] A.D. 1829–1896.

the Baptist brings a basin of water with which to lave the wound. The aged Anna is drawing out the nail that has caused the injury, while a youthful carpenter stops his work to watch the young Christ.[1] The picture is painted to illustrate the words: "And one shall say unto Him, What are these wounds in Thine hands? Then He shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of My friends."[2]

10. Though Burne-Jones forsook the Church and devoted himself to art under the influence of Rossetti, it was not as a member of the P.R.B. he was destined to fame, but as a great exponent of the new idealism of England. During the early part of his career his art was "essentially poetic and expressive,"[3] but after his visit to Italy it came under the spell of the great Italians of the early sixteenth century, and became mystical and decorative. "His art," says Muther, "is the flower of most potent fragrance in English æstheticism. . . . Everything that Burne-Jones has created is at once fragrant, mystical, and austere."[4] Among the works of his first period is a water-colour, "The Merciful Knight," with a fine picture of Christ stooping down to kiss a knight bending before a wayside shrine.[5] Later came his "Annunciation" and "Adoration of the Kings." The "Annunciation" should be compared with Rossetti's. The robe of the angel is white, and white that of the Virgin, and white the marble floor and wainscoting of the house. Mary stands by a well,

[1] The carpenter's shop is reproduced in detail even to the shavings on the floor, though these are not nearly so abundant as in Holman Hunt's painting.

[2] Zech. xiii. 6. For an example of Millais in his Velasquez period, see his "Parable of the Lost Piece of Money" and "Evil One Sowing Tares." Consider also his haunting "Vale of Rest."

[3] Bénédite, p. 232. [4] *History of Modern Painting*, iii. 178.

[5] First exhibited in 1864. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

and the angel calmly and solemnly descends to tell his tale. In the "Adoration," the landscape is fragrant with roses. The Virgin sits in their midst, "calm and unapproachable," and in her lap the Child, who is even more slender than the Child-Christ of Cimabue.[1] In these and other pictures the influence of Botticelli is apparent. The figures are devout, solemn, and sad, and an element of melancholy pervades them all. Thoughtfully and dreamily, as if their hearts were stricken with the sadness of the world, his Madonnas stand before us. When the tidings of the world's great hope surges in the Virgin's breast, she stands like a statue, pale and grave before the world. Even when the Babe lies on her knee, she has no vision of joy, no smile of gladness.

11. More to our purpose, however, are Burne-Jones' "Easter Morn" and "Dies Domini." The "Easter Morn" is a beautiful and fresh rendering of an old and hackneyed theme. It pictures the dramatic moment when Christ is first seen of Mary Magdalene. "It seems to me," says Chrysostom, "that while she was speaking to the angels, Christ appeared behind her, and that the angels, by their posture, look, and motion, showed that they saw the Lord, and that thus it was that she turned back." Whether Burne-Jones knew the lovely thought of Chrysostom or came by inspiration to the same poetic vision, it is this dramatic situation his work reveals. The white angels of the tomb sit where the body of Christ had lain, "holding

[1] Muther, iii. 180. Sir Wyke Bayliss calls Burne-Jones "The painter of the Golden Age." He painted the "Annunciation" at least six times. The "Adoration," however, is considered a greater achievement than any of these. See *Burne-Jones*, by Malcolm Bell, pp. 24–25, and consider his popular and beautiful "Star of Bethlehem" in the Birmingham Art Gallery and his "Mother of Healing." Compare Lord Leighton's "Star of the East." See also G. Hitchcock's "Flight into Egypt," exhibited in the New Gallery, 1894, and the Madonnas of J. B. McCrary, New York.

white robes in awe," and behold Him standing in the mystic dawn. Their burning eyes and speaking gestures convey to Mary some idea of what their hearts know. She turns, her face wet with tears, and sees Jesus dimly in the morning light.[1] "She, supposing Him to be the gardener, saith unto Him, 'Sir, if thou have borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away.' Jesus saith unto her, 'Mary!'" Something in the voice haunts her, and, dashing away her tears, she recognises Him. It is a wonderful, delightful rendering of the theme. The face of Christ is long and bearded, after the mediæval manner, but it is drawn with quiet reverence and spiritual charm. The picture stands apart as one of the most poetic revelations of recent days. Yet even here, that sweet melancholy so dear to the heart of the painter pervades the scene. With his eyes on the empty tomb, and his hand on the white robe of the risen Lord, Burne-Jones cannot break into song: life is still sad.[2]

12. When Sir Edward comes to paint the "Dies Domini," the same sweet melancholy holds him in spell.[3] No longer have we the bearded, ascetic face of early mediæval work, but a beardless Christ and a youthful Lord. Young and beautiful, His brow is pierced with thorns, His heart pierced with pain. Sad and pitiful, He sits among a host of angels, not one face of all the host radiant with joy. Right hand uplifted, left hand laying

[1] His face is in shadow with the dawn behind Him. See on all this Forsyth's fine book, *Religion in Recent Art*, pp. 80–83.

[2] "In its tired, gentle, pitying pessimism," says Mrs. Jenner, "it is an adequate expression of modern vague spiritualistic brooding."

[3] Compare also his beautiful "Descent from the Cross," and the work of Frederick J. Shields, *e.g.* his vigorous "Christ and Peter on the Lake of Galilee," his lovely "Christ Washing Peter's Feet," and his stately "Good Shepherd," in Church of Ascension, Bayswater Road, London.

bare His wounded side, the Judge of all the earth calls for our pity and moves our heart with His compassion. Sweetly sad, and gentle as He is weary, this Christ woos us with His sorrows and melts us with His kindness. He is no angry Judge, but a pleading Saviour. We stand before Him with hope, we look on Him without fear. It is not "the great and terrible day of the Lord" that is here pictured; the frailest, saddest, most forgetful of men could ask for no more pitiful Judgment Day than this, no kinder Christ. Modern in thought as well as in feeling, this Christ is far as the poles apart from the nude angry giant of Michael Angelo. It sings the song of the world's new thoughts with melancholy sweetness. It lifts the eyes from the flames of hell and the lot of the damned to the pity of Christ, till one thinks there can be no "hell" with such a Saviour, no "flames" with such a Christ. To look on this sad face is to feel that "hell" cannot hold you: to see that wounded side is to know that Love has conquered.[1]

13. On terms of friendship with these, but doing his work apart, was that great English painter George Frederick Watts.[2] In art as in life he stands in a place by himself, a man of Miltonic power and Herculean achievement. Would that he had turned his face toward Christ! No painter of our time could have rendered the Christ-stories with greater sureness and depth. An English Venetian, early influenced by Giorgione, Titian, and Tintoretto, he

[1] See our illustration. Compare also his mosaic-work, "Christ on the Tree of Life," in the American Church, Rome. The tree of life is His Cross, and the details are rich in fine suggestions. "In the whole range of art," says Sir Wyke Bayliss, "I know nothing more lovely, more human, more divine than this" (*Five Great Painters of the Victorian Era*. See illustration there, p. 82).

[2] Born in London A.D. 1817, died 1904.

takes his own masterly, magnificent way, and makes the world beautiful with every touch of his clean, strong hand. Though not a painter of Christ, he is the painter of life and love, and has given us renderings of three of the Gospel stories, all of great power. His "Prodigal Son," "Rich Young Ruler" (Tate Gallery), and "Good Samaritan" (Manchester), reflect the artist's thought on these dramatic stories. "The Spirit of Christianity," however, is perhaps more typical of Watts' poetic genius. It paints a youth throned upon the clouds, with children nestling at his feet. His powerful head is bent upwards, and his right hand is open wide.[1]

14. Among the Christ-pictures by lesser men, a passing word, at least, must be given to a few. They may not show great power, but each picture has some peculiar interest, and all of them make plain that Christ is not quite forgotten by our modern men of art. The heart hovers round the Gospel stories still, and men turn their eyes to Christ with wistful longing. If the wind of the dawn of a new day is stirring in the land, as many believe, then we may be sure that great painters will arise quick to feel the breath of the Spirit and ready to consecrate their art to the broadening service of Christ. Among those who have already paid some tribute, we gladly name the following. J. M. Strudwick,[2] an ardent disciple of Burne-Jones, has painted the Parable of "Ten Virgins," and given us

[1] See also his famous pictures, "Hope," "Love and Life," "Love and Death," "Time, Death, and Judgment." Watts is a great original painter, one of the world's greatest. He is not enchained to Christ, but neither is he in bondage to the ancient myths. He creates his own types, and embodies his own thoughts in great pictures. He is the most intellectual of all our British painters, and views life on "a huge scale." See Muther, iii. 201–209; and Forsyth, pp. 86–140; and Sir Wyke Bayliss, *Five Great Painters*, pp. 89–103.

[2] Born at Clapham A.D. 1849.

a beautiful Christ within the bridal hall.[1] William C. T. Dobson[2] has a rendering of "The Presentation," "The Return of the Holy Family to Nazareth," and "The Child Jesus in the Temple." They contain good work, though lacking in originality and power. A. A. Anderson has attempted to give a new rendering of a well-worn theme, "The Woman taken in Adultery," and certainly succeeds in painting the spirit of the scene. The picture shows the accusers creeping away, afraid to fling a stone. Christ sits upon the ground and writes upon the sand, a pleasing Figure. The woman looks and listens, wondering. "Neither do I condemn thee," writes Christ. "Go, and sin no more."[3] The scene in Gethsemane continues to fascinate. J. H. F. Bacon and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, have painted it with some freshness and power. Bacon shows us Christ coming to His disciples and finding them asleep: "What! Could ye not watch with Me one hour?" It is a good and striking bit of work. The Marchioness pictures Christ on His knees in the garden, His eyes turned pleadingly to God: "And being in an agony, He prayed more earnestly." It recalls Hofmann's "Christ in Gethsemane," but is less conventional and less theatrical than that famous work. Bacon also has painted the Risen Christ, and has

[1] W. J. Wainwright has also a rendering of this theme. The ten virgins are on the steps waiting for the Bridegroom. The cry, "Behold, He cometh," has waked them, and they are straining their eyes to watch His coming. Valentine Cameron Prinsep has a picture in the Manchester Gallery, "One of the Foolish Virgins," standing, sorrowing, outside the closed door.

[2] A.D. 1817–1898.

[3] Sir G. Richmond has a rendering of "Christ and the Woman of Samaria," but it is weak and hackneyed. Compare with it Frank Dicksee's fine rendering of the "Penitent Woman," wiping Christ's feet with her hair, illustrated in Dr. Kuyper's *Modern Masters*, p. 58.

chosen that dramatic moment when He entered the hopeless room and astonished His stricken disciples. The pose of some of the apostles is not happy, but the white-robed Christ makes a pleasing Figure. One can almost hear Him saying, "Peace be unto you."[1]

15. In Scotland, not a few artists have given of their best to Christ. The "best" may not be of countless price or fit to hang beside the wonders of Italy or Spain, but it represents a phase of national life that may not be neglected.[2] A craftsman of splendid imagination and soul akin to Blake, a thinker mystical and metaphysical, a colourist of high order, a painter with great sense of movement and power of light and shade, David Scott may be

[1] Compare also G. P. Jacomb-Hood's "Raising of Jairus' Daughter," with its fine Christ; "The Ascension," by John La Farge, in Church of Ascension, New York; A. U. Soord's beautiful and suggestive pictures "The Lost Sheep" and "Christ Plucking Wheat." Edwin Armitage and Albert Goodwin have painted "The Remorse of Judas," Armitage picturing him flinging the blood-stained silver at the cunning priests; Goodwin picturing a wind-swept heath, full of tragic suggestion. See also George W. Joy's "Merchantman and the Pearl" and "Mary of Bethany"; Albert Goodwin's extraordinary "First Christmas Dawn"; G. Hitchcock's flowery "Flight into Egypt"; F. L. M. Pape's extraordinary "Light in Egypt"; J. R. Herbert's pleasing "Youth of Our Lord"; E. Armitage's "Woman touching Christ's Garment," "Christ calling James and John," and "Christ's Reproof of Pharisees"; F. Goodall's "By the Sea of Galilee"; Clement O. Skilbeck's "Calling of S. Matthew"; W. C. T. Dobson's "Raising of the Widow's Son"; Sybil Parker's "Parable of the Good Shepherd"; William Hilton's "Resurrection of Lazarus"; J. M. Swan's "Prodigal Son"; Henry Tidey's "Christ blessing the Little Children" and "Judas"; W. Smetham's "Hymn of the Last Supper"; W. S. Burton's "King of Sorrows"; Sant and Robert's "Walk to Emmaus"; C. Holroyd's "Supper at Emmaus"—many of which are illustrated in Temple's *Sacred Art*.

[2] See *Scottish Painting, Past and Present*, by James L. Caw; *The Scottish School of Painting*, by W. D. M'Kay; and *History of Art in Scotland*, by R. Brydall.

regarded as the forerunner of the new Idealism in England, and one of the most original artists of the Scottish School.[1] Rossetti spoke of him as "the painter most nearly fulfilling the highest requirements for historic art, both as a thinker and a colourist, who has appeared among us from the time of Hogarth to his own"; and the collection of his paintings and drawings, recently shown in the National Gallery, Edinburgh, proves this high praise well merited.[2] Scott's drawing, "Self Accusation," in which he reveals Conscience as a man's double following hard in his steps, has in it the element of eternal truthfulness characteristic of much of his work, and drives home the thought with the same passion and earnestness that mark Francis Thompson's variant of the theme in *The Hound of Heaven.* In more distinctly religious work, David Scott's great worth may be seen in such paintings as "Judas Betraying Christ,"[3] the small "Crucifixion" exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy in 1839, the great "Crucifixion: with the Dead Rising," a marvellous piece of vivid painting,[4] his "Taking down from the Cross," an excellent rendering of this popular theme,[5] and his "Ascension," a picture that shows Italian influence and does not quite successfully reveal Scott's tremendous power in painting the human figure in motion.[6] In every picture, however, the Christ is painted with sympathy and force, and the choice of themes makes it plain that this great mystical soul beheld the sorrow

[1] A.D. 1806–1849.

[2] A.D. 1914. Scott's "The Traitor's Gate" is one of the most striking and original of the permanent possessions of the National Gallery, Edinburgh.

[3] Painted in 1836, size 45½ × 37, and now (1914) in possession of the Trustees of the late Mrs. Fairbairn, Greenlaw.

[4] Size 109 × 88 inches. [5] Size 106 × 123, exhibited 1835.

[6] In the collection of Mr. J. Burn Murdoch, Gartincaber.

of the Nazarene and lifted his life by the vision of Christ.[1]

16. Sir J. Noël Paton[2] came early under the charm of Millais, Holman Hunt, and Rossetti, but later knew the spell of the Nazarenes and showed marks of the influence of Cornelius, Overbeck, and Ary Scheffer. During this second period he painted many religious pictures that were enormously popular in Scotland and attracted great crowds wherever shown. Such a picture as his "De Profundis" was hailed with joy by multitudes who knew little of art but much of the saving power of Christ. It represents Christ stooping down to lift from the depths a human soul rising on the wings of faith. The scenery is bare and rocky. The winged soul is a lovely young woman, rising out of the pit and stretching eager arms to Christ. The Saviour is the conventional, sentimental Christ of Scheffer, a crown of thorns on His brow, a halo of light round His head, and a yearning, loving look on His refined and thoughtful face. The effect is pleasing and satisfying to the evangelic heart of Scotland. "Yet," says Mr. Caw, "admirable as they are in intention, his religious pictures are illumined by no fresh and vivid light of thought, and place one in no unexpected and moving relationship to life."[3] They are correct and chaste in form and thought, but cold in feeling; high in aspiration, but unimpassioned in conception and execution, "lacking in spontaneous grace and compelling charm."[4]

[1] See, also, his fine drawings illustrative of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, many of them of great originality and power.

[2] Born in Dunfermline 1821, died 1901.

[3] *Scottish Painting, Past and Present*, by James L. Caw, director of the National Galleries of Scotland, p. 169.

[4] *Scottish Painting, Past and Present*, p. 169. See also his "Lux in Tenebris," "Christ bearing the Cross," and "Luther at Erfürt."

17. Robert Scott Lauder, famous as a teacher as well as an artist, painted many religious and romantic pictures.[1] While in Rome he saw the work of the Nazarenes and while in Paris felt the charm of Delacroix, but it was in Edinburgh he did his destined work. In 1848 he painted "Christ teacheth Humility," a colour-sermon on the "Child in the Midst."[2] Though it has many beautiful figures, the Christ Himself, I think, is lacking in depth and strength. In his great "Crucifixion," however, we have a picture that compels admiration and solemnises us every time we view it. Here the artist has succeeded in telling the story with convincing power and deep spiritual feeling. Of all modern "Crucifixions," it is the nearest to Velasquez's great work in realism and truth, and, like his, succeeds in conveying to us the heart of the tragedy. Against a darkened sky, the Christ is painted on the Cross, alone. In the all-prevailing gloom, the Cross appears covered with a finely draped white sheet, against which the body of the Crucified shows up in all the appalling loneliness of death. Both the agony of the Cross and the woe of Christ's death must have held the heart of the painter when he flung this vision on canvas. To us, it is one of the most impressive "Crucifixions" of modern times. It is more than solemnising; it hushes the soul and brings us to our knees. It may be true,[3] generally, that Lauder was more effective with drama than with the sacred story, and less successful

[1] Born at Silvermills, Edinburgh, A.D. 1812, died 1869. Married daughter of Thomson of Duddingston. Almost all Scottish painters of last quarter of nineteenth century felt the influence of Scott Lauder. Deep chromatic colour and conscientious work characterise the school.

[2] National Gallery, Edinburgh. Size 129″×92″.

[3] See Caw's *Scottish Painting*, pp. 115, 116, and M'Kay's *Scottish School*, pp. 230–231.

in painting the love of Christ than the "Bride of Lammermoor" or the "Trial of Effie Deans"; but this great "Crucifixion" redeems all failure and places him high among sacred painters. It is at once simple and dramatic, spiritual and sublime.[1]

18. To-day, William Hole, in Scotland, is doing good work.[2] Chief among his religious pictures is "If thou hadst known," painted in 1885, and now in the Royal Scottish Academy's Diploma Collection. It is one of his most successful efforts, and is not without charm. The wistful longing of the Christ is finely conceived, and the spirit of the incident is well expressed. Seated alone on the hillside of Olivet, Christ is shown looking away across the valley to the Holy City beyond, lamenting the great rejection. So finely is it done that one can almost hear the

[1] See our illustration. This "Crucifixion" is now in S. Andrew's Catholic Church, Ravelston, Edinburgh, and a fine study of it is in the Scottish Academy's Collection. Other religious pictures by Lauder include "Christ walking on the Sea" (1850), in the Collection of the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts; "Denial by Peter," twice painted, one being at present (1914) in the Collection of Archibald Smith, Esq., W. Castle Road, Edinburgh; "Christ on the Way to Emmaus," now in the Albert Institute, Dundee; "Christ breaking the Bread," in the possession of D. B. Dott, Esq.; and a beautiful "Christ crowned with Thorns," now in the possession of the artist's daughter, Mrs. Lauder Thomson, Lauderdale, Dumbarton, where I had the pleasure of seeing it through her kindness. It is a bust, and a finely human thorn-crowned Christ. The eyes are downcast, the cheeks hollow, the face pale with sorrow, the body draped in white, with a crimson cloak falling over the left shoulder. It is a strong bit of work, showing deep religious feeling. It makes it easy to believe, what Mrs. Lauder Thomson tells me, that Scott Lauder was a deeply religious man, and painted his Christ literally on his knees.

[2] Born at Salisbury in 1846. Educated in Scotland and working in Edinburgh, he is, like Scott Lauder before him, an Episcopalian. He has the heart to paint many pictures of Christ, and fain would paint them; but, alas! to-day sacred pictures will not sell, and man must earn his daily bread.

voice of Christ saying, "If thou hadst known." The face of the Christ is good and must have cost the artist many a prayer. Yet one can fancy Hole must know something of the feeling which caused Burne-Jones to make his great confession. "The more," said Sir Edward, "I recall the efforts I have made to express the face of the Christ, the more discontented I am with them. I do not think there is one which can be looked upon as anything but a failure." A like measure of success and failure may be seen in Hole's water-colours illustrative of "The Life of Jesus of Nazareth."[1] Painted in Palestine, they have much local colour, and succeed in giving the lie of the land. Among the best to our mind are "The Baptism," a really fine rendering of that great theme; "The Temptation," a striking and powerful work, which he painted a second time, with more satisfaction to himself, and kindly permits me to reproduce here;[2] "Jesus and the Samaritan," very good; "Jesus before Pilate," an original and satisfying treatment; and "Jesus revealing Himself to Mary," a very pleasing picture. Hole has brooded long on the story of stories, and has many a deep, original interpretation to give us. His tendency, however, is to crowd too much into his pictures and fail of the great rewards of concentration. He is scenic and architectural, sometimes, rather than central and passionate. But he knows the Christ, and loves Him well, and brings us often to His feet.[3]

[1] Published in book form, with eighty illustrations in colour. Compare also Harold Copping's "Scenes in the Life of Our Lord," with descriptions by Bishop Moule.

[2] See our illustration.

[3] Compare also "On the Road to Emmaus," by John Runciman, in the National Gallery, Edinburgh, and mark the fine religious feeling in G. P. Chalmers' "Prayer," and in Joseph Farquharson's charming picture "The Shepherd." See, also, Mrs. Traquair's mural decorations in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh. There is at least one fine Christ among them—that on "The Temptation."

19. In quite another style, and revealing much modern feeling, is "The Presence," by A. E. Borthwick.[1] Here is painted for us the interior of a Gothic church, nearly empty. In the foreground by a pillar is a woman kneeling in anguish of grief and prayer, unconscious of the presence of Christ. The artist has outlined Christ near to her, nearer far than she thinks, and bending in love and pity over her. Away in the distance is the lighted altar with a company of men and women standing by; but not there, to the woman in her grief only, does the Christ come. "The Presence" makes a fine appeal to the modern man. Equally pleasing is the tendency to mystical work shown in such a picture as "The Consoler,"[2] by Borthwick, in which is painted once again a woman bowed with woe, and, near her, though unseen, the Christ, who is always near to heal and bless. Another tendency of the moment, both at home and abroad, is reflected in such melodramatic paintings as Sigismund Goetze's "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" However much such pictures offend, there can be little doubt they make a deep impression on many modern minds. Effective, also, and arresting to many, is such a story-picture as "The Return of the Prodigal"[3] by C. E. Butler. Here the prodigal dramatically comes home in the middle of a fashionable modern dinner party. The father, with bowed head, the agitated mother, and every fair dressed figure at the table shows that human nature still responds to Christ's dramatic story. Much more beautiful, and marking the love of the modern heart for

[1] A Scotsman, living in Edinburgh. His work may not be overstrong, but it has poetic power and not a little mystic grace.

[2] Royal Scottish Academy, 1914.

[3] Royal Academy, London, 1914.

The Crucifixion of Christ.

*Scott Lauder.*

*Photograph by Doig, Wilson & Wheatley, Edinburgh.*

19. In quite another style, and revealing much modern feeling, is "The Presence," by A. E. Borthwick.[1] Here is painted for us the interior of a Gothic church, nearly empty. In the foreground by a pillar is a woman kneeling in anguish of grief and prayer, unconscious of the presence of Christ. The artist has outlined Christ near to her, nearer far than she thinks, and bending in love and pity over her. Away in the distance is the lighted altar with a company of men and women standing by; but not there, to the woman in her grief only, does the Christ come. "The Presence" makes a fine appeal to the modern man. Equally pleasing is the tendency to mystical work shown in such a picture as "The Consoler,"[2] by Borthwick, in which is painted once again a woman bowed with woe, and, near her, though unseen, the Christ, who is always near to heal and bless. Another tendency of the moment, both at home and abroad, is reflected in such melodramatic paintings as Sigismund Goetze's "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" However much such pictures offend, there can be little doubt they make a deep impression on many modern minds. Effective, also, and arresting to many, is such a story-picture as "The Return of the Prodigal"[3] by C. E. Butler. Here the prodigal dramatically comes home in the middle of a fashionable modern dinner party. The father, with bowed head, the agitated mother, and every fair dressed figure at the table shows that human nature still responds to Christ's dramatic story. Much more beautiful, and marking the love of the modern heart for

[1] A Scotsman, living in Edinburgh. His work may not be overstrong, but it has poetic power and not a little mystic grace.

[2] Royal Scottish Academy, 1914.

[3] Royal Academy, London, 1914.

The Crucifixion of Christ.

*Scott Lauder.*

*Photograph by Doig, Wilson & Wheatley, Edinburgh.*

*Page* 333.

The Crucifixion of Christ.

Scott Lauder.

Photograph by Dods, Wilson & Wheatley, Edinburgh.

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the little child, is Miss H. C. Preston Macgoun's lovely water-colour "Come unto Me."[1] In this the artist paints a pleasing, shadowy, white Christ, His arms outstretched, His lips speaking, and, in front of Him and around, groups of children of all ages. Some are playing with one another, some plucking flowers, some chasing butterflies all unconscious of His presence, while others, lifting up their heads, behold Him, and are seen coming to His side, their eyes and mouths wide open in wonder and love. It is a beautiful idea, beautifully rendered, and makes one regret this gifted artist did not live longer to paint other pictures of the Christ of the children she loved so well.[2]

20. There can be little doubt that the future will see a return to the simple painting of the Son of Man and the joyous telling of the gospel story. The nearer we get to Him, the better will it be for art as well as life; and the more simple and joyous be the way in which the spirit of the Christ is painted, the more joy and satisfaction will it give to our growing love of the Son of Man. The doctrinal painting of the Middle Ages and ecclesiastical clamour for pictures of the Son of God are not likely to be seen or heard again; and in the future, as in the past, the world will be richer when the men of art give up attempting the impossible, and give themselves hand and soul to the radiant deeds of the Son of Man. The vision of Christ as Friend and Helper, Comforter and Saviour, the vision that cheered the men of the Catacombs, this it is that is coming back again, and the emancipated Christ of the Renaissance, Son of Man if Son of God, is destined to make increasing

[1] Exhibited in Edinburgh, 1914, and in the possession of William MacGillivray, Esq., W.S.

[2] She died in the summer of 1913.

appeal to the human heart. To-day, with all our material wealth and comfort, the best in man is not at rest, and to-morrow it will be crying out for God. To-day, with all our lust of pleasure and love of gold, the good in man is haunted by its forgetfulness, and to-morrow it will be lifting bleeding hands in prayer to Christ. The tide is at the turn, the currents of life are setting toward the Son of Man once again, and the men of art are sure to be caught on the flood. The days of doubt and hesitation are almost over, and years of faith and hope and joyous vision are at hand. With a pathos that is breaking the heart of all who have eyes to see, the nations are waking from godless dreams, and the soul of the world is up for the Highest. To-morrow it will find Him in the Christ of Nazareth, and hail Him, with gladness, in weakness of flesh. Broken, wounded, weary, it will turn to Him in love, and call for pictures of the great strong Son of Man. And the men of art will win the gratitude of heaven and earth alike when they clothe the Christ-thoughts in flesh and blood, give them new meaning, and make them speak to us again the words of life eternal.

"'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for! My flesh that I seek
In the Godhead! I seek it and find it. O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee: a Man like to me
Thou shalt love and be loved by, for ever; a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!"[1]

[1] Browning's *Saul*, xviii.

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